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HISTORICAL NEWS

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THE NEW CRUSADE¹

THE definition of history which recognizes it as a record of human experience is perhaps the one now most widely accepted. Those definitions which have affirmed it to be chiefly an affair of the state have themselves passed into the limbo of historical evidences for the incredible lack of imagination displayed by some earlier historians—a lack the more extraordinary when one considers the wide prospect of human activity already surveyed by Voltaire in his *Les Moeurs*. If Europe was slow to recognize a broader definition of history after Voltaire had showed the way, America was still slower. The work of Riehl, of Gustav Freitag, and above all, of Burckhardt, in revealing the whole range of human life as a symmetrical whole, and in conceiving such a disclosure of it as the real responsibility of history, was, as we all know, already having a powerful influence in Germany by 1850, that is two generations ago; but notwithstanding the extraordinary work of Parkman, the historians of America were more than a generation behind in recognizing "*Kulturgeschichte*", the history of civilization, as the very life-blood of history.

This slowness of the New World to discern that the very substance of human development lies in those processes which only the history of civilization can set forth, is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the conquest of the New World, consisting as it did so largely in that tremendous drama of the subjugation of the wilderness, was itself a chapter of human experience which could be successfully depicted only by the methods and the inclusiveness of the history of civilization, as Parkman had so powerfully shown. We of America are especially fitted to visualize and to understand the marvellous transformation of a wilderness into a land of splendid cities. But it is obvious that our fathers, whose efforts have planted these

¹ Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 28, 1928. The paper contains some quotations, not indicated as such, from the writer's convocation address entitled "The New Past", published in the *University of Chicago Record*, Oct., 1920; and also from his article in *Scribner's Magazine*, Nov., 1928.

great and prosperous cities along the once lonely trails of our own broad land, received all the fundamentals of civilization as a heritage from their European ancestors. There was an age, however, when the transition from savagery to civilization, with all its impressive outward manifestations in art and architecture, took place *for the first time*. It is the recognition of history as a record of human experience which has inevitably resulted in the inclusion of this conquest of civilization within the framework of a complete human history.

This appearance of civilization *for the first time* is the most remarkable event in the history of the universe, in so far as it is known to us. It has been shown by the palaeontologists that there were several manlike creatures, physically the equals and rivals of the earliest man himself; but the advance in brain power and the expansion of the forebrain, where the faculties of correlation and coördination reside—this advance which enabled one of these creatures to rise from bestial degradation and savagery to the conquest of civilized life, was an unprecedented occurrence in the evolution of life on our planet. Perhaps following Wallace, one of the leading astronomers of modern times has recently suggested that the culmination of evolution in human life on our planet may still remain without a parallel throughout the universe. In any case, in so far as our knowledge of the universe carries us, the advent of civilization for the first time on our globe represents the highest ascent of the life processes to which evolution had anywhere attained.

It is therefore of fundamental importance to determine where this marvellous process took place, and I believe that the materials for settling this question are already in our hands. Today the traveller on the Nile enters a wonderland at whose gates rise the colossal pyramids of which he has had visions perhaps from earliest childhood. As he ascends the river he sees expanding behind palm-fringed shores vast temple precincts, to which avenues of sphinxes lead up from the shore, dominated by the mighty shafts of tall obelisks and stately colonnades. But it does not commonly occur to the traveller that, just as in America, so there on the Nile *the wilderness preceded all this*. Where those vast monuments of stone now rise, once stretched the tangled jungle of the Nile canyon, pathless for thousands of years save where the hunter's winding trail led down through the rustling reeds to the water's edge.

Here it was then that the prehistoric hunter, whose instinct for self-expression had been for ages quite content to ply the flint graving tool in carving symmetrical lines of game beasts along the ivory handle of a stone dagger, was transformed by fifty generations of social evolution into a royal architect, launching great bodies of or-

ganized craftsmen upon the quarries of the Nile cliffs, and summoning thence stately and rhythmic colonnades, imposing temples, and a vast rampart of pyramids, the greatest tombs ever erected by the hand of man, and the first great superstructures of masonry in any country.

Rarely does the modern pilgrim in Egypt realize that there was no civilized ancestry from whom the prehistoric Nile-dweller might receive this inheritance of culture. For example, there was no hewn stone architecture anywhere on earth when the pyramids of Gizeh arose. In their own deepening experience and broadening vision we must find the magic which transformed those primitive hunters and their little settlements of wattle huts into a great society dominated by masterful men of grandly spacious imagination, of imposing monumental vision, whose prodigal hands, stripping off the shackles of tradition, transformed the one-time jungle into a marvellous home of the first known civilization and scattered its mighty monuments far up and down the river. He who knows the story of the transition from the prehistoric hunters of the Nile jungle to the sovereigns and statesmen, the architects, engineers, and craftsmen of a great organized society, which wrought these monumental wonders along the Nile at a time when all Europe was still living in stone-age barbarism, and there was none to teach a civilization of the past—he who knows all this knows the story of *the first rise of civilization anywhere on the globe*.

To the present writer a careful study of the facts now available seems to leave no doubt that civilization was born at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. The recent disclosures in Babylonia, especially the remarkable discoveries at Ur, have not furnished conclusive evidence for establishing the remote dates which have been assigned to them. It is quite clear that the valley of the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, lay so far toward the north as to be immediately under the southern fringes of the Armenian ice-sheet in the glacial age. Prehistoric Assyria was thus exposed to the northern cold as well as to the ravages of the glacial floods, and with the Persian Gulf at that time extending inland as far north as the latitude of the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, the alluvial plain known as early Babylonia had not yet been formed in an age when Egypt, protected by the Mediterranean from the rigors of the European Ice Age, was already rapidly out-distancing all her rivals in the advance toward civilization. By 3000 B.C. the art of Egypt was so ripe and so far advanced that it is surprising to find any student of early culture proposing that the crude contemporary art of the early Babylonians is the product of a civilization earlier than that of the

Nile. There is but little room for doubt that Egypt led the way in the creation of the earliest known group of civilizations which arose on both sides of the land bridge between Africa and Eurasia in the fourth millennium B.C.

The important fact is the existence of such a civilized world at a time when Europe still lay in stone-age barbarism. In that earliest civilized world lay the roots of the civilization which our ancestors transplanted to the Western Hemisphere.

This recognition of the earlier human background, now so obvious to us, did not come all at once, for the inclusion of history itself in university instruction is an event less than two centuries old. The man who first gave history a recognized place in science was an *ancient historian*. It was Berthold Niebuhr who first grasped the fundamentals of Roman history in terms of human life as he found it all around him little more than a century ago. His studies of the course of Roman affairs are the first investigations of the career of a people, carried on with sound methods, and it is these methods of an ancient historian, clarified and improved as time went on, which have lifted history to its present recognized place among modern sciences. It is perhaps no accident that Berthold Niebuhr's father, Carsten Niebuhr, was an Orientalist and an explorer of the ancient lands of the East. Associated with such studies from his earliest childhood, the younger Niebuhr's imagination was kindled by the tales his father told him of the older lands lying behind Greece and Rome. We are therefore able to understand that in 1829, only seven years after the decipherment of Egyptian by Champollion and twenty years before the decipherment of cuneiform writing by Rawlinson, Berthold Niebuhr ventured a prophecy that Nineveh would arise as the Pompeii of Western Asia, and that Assyrian civilization would not lack its Champollion. Thus it happened that in the hands of a specialist in *ancient history*, and furthermore in the closest contact with ancient *Oriental history*, the modern study of history was first developed as a methodically pursued scientific discipline.

It is the more remarkable therefore, that over half a century later, in undertaking his universal history begun in 1880, Ranke regarded the origins of society as no longer recoverable and the civilizations of the ancient Near East as wholly unconnected with the main stream of history. Only twenty years later, just at the close of the nineteenth century, Sir Arthur Evans began his epoch-making researches in Crete, which revealed early Cretan culture as the vital link between the civilization of Egypt and that of Southeastern Europe. Evans himself recognized the fact in these memorable words: "Ancient Egypt itself can no longer be regarded as something apart from gen-

eral human history." While this was true of Egypt, it has now become equally true of Western Asia, especially of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. In the intercontinental region enfolding the eastern end of the Mediterranean, a group of civilized nations developed for ages before the rise of European culture and formed the earliest known civilized world. On the borders of this earliest civilized world of Egypt and Western Asia lay for some two thousand years the wilderness of savage Europe, stretching far westward to the Atlantic, untouched by civilization except at its southeastern corner, where the Greek islands looked southeastward to the mouths of the Nile and eastward toward Hittite Asia Minor. The fruits of thousands of years of human experience, garnered in the ancient Near East, thus passed easily and inevitably into the European wilderness. Today it is easy to survey in its main outlines the gradual emergence of Europe from prehistoric savagery, as the light of civilization, dawning slowly in the Southeast, after 3000 B.C., passed gradually westward across all Europe, till its further westward advance was halted for many centuries by the broad barrier of the Atlantic.

There are spots in Europe today where chance has brought strangely near together and left lying side by side the relics of the earliest prehistoric savages and the evidences of so-called modern civilization—the earliest and the latest points in the observable human career. The soil of the battle-scarred hills overlooking the river Somme in northern France is thickly strewn with fragments of steel shells which have penetrated deeply into the slopes and natural terraces made by the river ages ago. Today, when the great guns are silent, a few minutes' work with a shovel will uncover lying together in the gravels along the brow of the valley the flint fist-hatchet, the earliest surviving weapon of man, and the jagged fragments of the modern explosive steel shell. There they lie as you unearth them, side by side, the flint fist-hatchet and the steel shell fragment, and the whole sweep of human history lies between them—a story of at least several hundred thousand years.

It is this conception of the unity of the human career which is perhaps the greatest achievement of historical study, since it gained a place analogous to that of natural science. For with the recognition of this unity we carry back the study of man into the geological ages from which he has emerged, and we link up human development with the unfolding of lower forms of life on our planet. We historians thus take our places side by side with the natural scientists, and while not claiming for our field the precision of method or result obtainable in a natural science, we are nevertheless taking up the process of evolution where the natural scientists leave it, and in following the

upward course of the developing life of man we are tracing later stages of that same development which natural science has disclosed. And what more inspiring task than to follow that tremendous transformation by which the primitive forest of the stone-age savage has at last given way to the modern forest of factory chimneys.

The recognition of this imposing synthesis lays upon us historians a grave responsibility, but it is a responsibility which has emerged so recently that we have hardly become aware of it. How many historians have we in America who contemplate the human career as a whole? Or in doing so, how many have we had who have realized where the greatest body of evidence revealing the past of man still lies unsalvaged and unstudied? It is now a century and a quarter since the preliminary reports of Napoleon's corps of savants revealed to the civilized West the vast extent of the surviving human records in the Nile Valley alone. Over a century ago Champollion's great achievement of 1822 first enabled us to read those records of the Nile, and over a quarter of a century later, about 1850, Rawlinson penetrated the mystery of cuneiform. It has long been obvious that those two remarkable achievements pushed back the field of historical research on the basis of written documents almost three thousand years. Are we able to say that the historians of the Western World have stepped forward to occupy this new field?

It has been from the beginning a twofold task, requiring first the salvaging of the available evidence, and second its laborious interpretation and incorporation into the body of recognized knowledge. It is a remarkable fact, and I think also a regrettable fact, that the historians have left the salvaging of this evidence entirely to the archaeologists. Even so gifted an investigator as Burckhardt, when he came to picture Greek culture, using the same methods which have made his *Culture of the Renaissance* a universal classic, seemed unaware of the fact that a great body of Greek inscriptions revealed by exploration and excavation formed new sources of evidence without which his studies would be hopelessly obsolete. In contrast with this attitude is of course the unconquerable energy of Mommsen in pushing the work of the great *Corpus* of the Latin inscriptions, and the parallel enterprise which is bringing together the Greek inscriptions, although the leadership of the latter project has not been chiefly in the hands of the historians. The more familiar classic discipline, long entrenched in the great universities, and strongly represented in the European academies by men of outstanding ability, has led to a full realization of the historian's responsibility to save from destruction the perishing evidences, and especially the *written* records of Greek and Roman civilization.

In the more recently disclosed field of history in the ancient Near East, however, there has been no such sense of responsibility displayed by historians either in Europe or America. The preliminary work of salvaging the evidence in the field has been left practically exclusively to the archaeologists and philologists in the universities and museums. Such efforts in the field have consisted of temporary expeditions, sometimes nothing more than a university teacher's sabbatic year's leave of absence. I well remember my first experience in the ancient East as a wandering pedagogue on an advance six months' leave of absence. It is now thirty-four years ago that I rode up and stood for the first time under the shadow of the vast temple of Medinet Habu opposite Luxor—a building with its enormous wall-surfaces covered with uncopied and unstudied historical records. There were thousands of square feet of these original sources. An inventory of my equipment for meeting this situation was as follows:

transportation 1 donkey on hire for the day, browsing near by ;
stationery 1 pocket note-book ;
photography 1 tiny Kodak hand-camera ;
supplies 1 basket lunch and 2 bottles of water ;
time three-quarters of a day ;
family resources 1 wife newly acquired, also browsing near by.

Such a situation would be fantastically ludicrous if it were not so pathetically futile. Today as I look back upon it, I can not but continually contrast it with our present headquarters at the same temple, with two large buildings including a scientific library, an elaborate graphic and photographic equipment, a non-native personnel of thirteen people, besides a staff of some fifty native servants and overseers, and a gang of several hundred native laborers.

But this transformation is a very recent matter. Nearly a quarter of a century later, when, in the summer of 1920, I returned from a year's absence, much of it spent in the Near East, the outlook was not promising. The exhaustion following the World War, and the post-war problems which knocked at our doors with imperious insistence, absorbed all the time and energy of our historians. Even now the historians of America have little time or interest to devote to the Ancient World, and much more was this the fact in the years immediately following the war. In that same summer of 1920 I wrote the following paragraph:

The great centers of human life in the ancient world, the mighty cities and capitals of Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, the region where the earliest civilized societies arose out of savagery and barbarism to bring civilization to barbarian Europe—

all these treasuries of human records which are rapidly perishing in the whole region about the eastern end of the Mediterranean lie there silently awaiting the spade of the excavator. I have seen the ruined capitals of the ancient East slumbering under their gloomy mounds at sunset, and many a time as the sun arose and dispelled the shadows it has seemed as if the banished life that once ebbed and flowed through those now dismantled and rubbish-covered streets must start forth again, till with a regret so poignant that it was almost physical pain I have realized the years that must elapse before these silent mounds can be made to speak again and reveal all the splendid pageant of their marvelous past.

It was obvious that neither the itinerant pedagogue on his sabbatical "Wanderjahr", nor the casual archaeological expedition supported for a time by some museum or university could cope with a situation like this. Mommsen's far-seeing plan for collecting the Latin inscriptions in one great *Corpus*, while he at first greatly underestimated the magnitude of the still unfinished task, was nevertheless from the first conceived as a project which must go on until all Latin records of this kind had been saved. What was true for Mommsen and his colleagues in salvaging the records of the Roman World, must be equally true for the historian who conscientiously faces his responsibility in the study of the ancient Oriental World. But what a colossal responsibility! The surviving remains in Egypt alone probably exceed in bulk all those of the combined Ancient World outside of the Nile Valley; and to this we must add the enormous extent of the surviving documents of Western Asia.

It is appalling to behold these priceless memorials of man's past rapidly perishing with every passing year. The monuments of the ancient East are calling for a New Crusade, and the task of saving them for science is the greatest responsibility confronting the historian anywhere in the whole range of historical research. In the present writer's judgment, it is a responsibility which can be successfully met, as far as America is concerned, only by some permanent agency organized as a headquarters from which can be despatched a whole series of carefully organized expeditions working at the same time and side by side, but each one investigating and salvaging the remains of one great civilization. The central organization here in America, like the unified command in the World War, must be able to keep these expeditions systematically operating in correlation with each other along the whole scientific frontier, which stretches in the Near East from the Black Sea on the north around the eastern end of the Mediterranean to the Upper Nile in the south—a front some 2000 miles long, which bends eastward in its centre to include Assyria and Babylonia, together with Persia and its neighbors.

While these field operations are going on, the headquarters in America must be developed as the focus upon which shall converge the growing evidence collected by these expeditions in the field. This American centre must be able to receive the scientific returns from the field, to study and digest them, and eventually to incorporate them into the available body of knowledge where they may be employed in building up and restoring to us the lost or fragmentary chapters of the early human career. The work of the American headquarters thus eventuates in a task which is essentially historical, and the whole organization, whether in its field operations or its research projects at home, should be regarded as an agency aiming to serve the cause of history.

In the spring of 1920, returning from a rapid survey of the colossal task awaiting the historian in the ancient Near East, I could hardly dare to hope that such an organization as I have suggested above would ever be a human possibility. It seemed much more probable that it would always remain a paper dream, a thing one might draw up in one form or another on neatly typewritten sheets, which would always remain in a drawer of one's desk, keeping company with various other typewritten documents marked: "Plans for the Excavation of Armageddon", or "Plans for an Expedition to Salvage the Inscriptions of Egypt", or "Plans for a Hittite Expedition", or "Notes on the Assyrian Dictionary Project", etc., etc. Some of these briefs continued to look not less attractive on paper because they had lain buried in my desk for a quarter of a century. Would they ever take tangible form?

In the spring of 1919, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., with his customary vision, had agreed to contribute \$10,000 a year for five years, to make possible some preliminary steps leading toward larger operations in the realization of these plans. A year later, on my return from the Near East, the same generous donor promptly raised his annual pledge to \$25,000 a year. It would not be possible within the limits of this address to sketch even in the briefest form the development which has followed. Suffice it to say that the modest organization, consisting at first exclusively of members of the department of Oriental languages at the University of Chicago, beginning work in the spring of 1919 on \$10,000 a year, with a personnel of four or five, was in 1927 operating on a budget of nearly \$300,000 and with a personnel of over fifty, a number which has now risen to sixty people.

It may fairly be expected at this juncture that the Oriental Institute should give some account of its stewardship during these first years of its existence. Beginning chronologically we should first

mention the Prehistoric Survey, an effort to collect systematically the evidences still surviving in the ancient East, which disclose the earliest known stages of human life since man began to be an implement-making creature. Heretofore such work has been haphazard and temporary effort, and only two men, Pitt-Rivers and Schweinfurth, ever attempted anything but surface work on the earliest periods which may be called essentially geological. For this reason it was necessary to secure for this task well-qualified geologists possessing at the same time a sufficient acquaintance with archaeology. Under the direction of Dr. K. S. Sandford of Oxford, assisted by W. J. Arkell, the Prehistoric Survey has now begun its third season in Egypt. The policy which these able young men were asked to follow was to determine the geological structure of the Nile Valley, now very insufficiently understood, and not to collect surface evidence primarily, but to search for human handiwork imbedded in the geological strata and therefore dated in terms of geological periods.

In following out these plans this survey has determined for the first time the southern limit of the prehistoric gulf now called the Nile Valley. It extended some seven hundred miles southward from the Mediterranean, to a point well south of Luxor. In this gulf, which the great river eventually entered, it formed a succession of five terraces, the highest terrace about one hundred and fifty and the lowest some twelve feet above present Nile level. Of these terraces the uppermost is of course the oldest and the others are later, the youngest being at the bottom of the series. This survey has found no evidences of man in the one hundred and fifty-foot terrace; but all the others contain human artifacts, the oldest being at the top in the one hundred-foot terrace. Since the age of the men who lived on this terrace, the river has cut down through the solid rock not only the hundred feet above present Nile level, but also the additional erosion below Nile level, which is a large but uncertain amount and which might vary greatly. While this erosion was going on, the Sahara was a vast, well-watered, and vegetation-covered plateau. Then the rainfall of Northeastern Africa gradually decreased, reducing the drainage and resulting erosion in the Nile Valley. The rate of erosion therefore must have declined. The age of these prehistoric men of the terraces is measured here by two natural processes, the desiccation of Northeastern Africa and the erosion of the Nile Valley. The geologists are reluctant to estimate the length of these processes in terms of years, but it is hardly likely that their length was less than several hundred thousand years.

In any case this Prehistoric Survey has found the oldest human remains ever discovered in the Near East. In this connection it

should be mentioned that the survey has also found the first geologically dated human handiwork along the African shore of the Red Sea. As soon as the general framework of prehistoric human development in Northeastern Africa has been determined, it is intended to transfer the work of the survey to Western Asia, especially to the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, where no such researches have ever been carried on.

Within the historic age so-called, the Oriental Institute's work in Egypt has been chiefly devoted to salvaging written documents already known, but now perishing without having ever been adequately copied or studied. At Medinet Habu opposite Luxor, there is an enormous temple whose walls are covered with written and pictorial records which reveal the earliest emergence of Europe in the military and political arena of the ancient Near East early in the twelfth century, B.C. It is exactly a century ago that Champollion, the great decipherer, first visited this temple, and with a draughtsman or two and a few ladders, began an effort to save the inscriptions it bears. It was an effort which calls forth our unbounded admiration, and we view the results of his work today with reverence and gratitude. It was not the fault of Champollion that in his day *accurate* epigraphy was entirely unknown. Indeed we may say that in Champollion's generation the science of epigraphy had not yet been born. Even at the present day the accurate reproduction of ancient inscriptions is hardly a generation old, a statement which may easily be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to examine the copies of inscriptions published in the earlier instalments of the Latin *Corpus*. The history of research in Egypt since Champollion's day has been largely a tale of excavation, and while this work of excavation has been enormously valuable, it has overshadowed the more important responsibility for saving the written records already above ground.

At the temple of Medinet Habu, therefore, the Oriental Institute has erected two permanent buildings, containing living quarters, work-rooms, photographic laboratory, and not least the first scientific library in Upper Egypt. The library building is the gift of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, while the books and a permanent endowment for its maintenance were contributed by the General Education Board. At this headquarters, under the direction of Dr. Harold H. Nelson, a corps of epigraphers and draughtsmen, assisted by the best possible modern photographic devices and equipment, are saving the wall records of the Medinet Habu temple. They will be published by the Oriental Institute at heavy cost in five or possibly six folio volumes, and the first of these volumes, which went to the printer last spring, should appear in the course of 1929.

The work of this Epigraphic Expedition has been expanded to include also the architecture of the temple as a beginning of a greatly needed Architectural Survey of Egypt. This new undertaking has involved the Institute in the excavation of the Medinet Habu buildings, especially the elaborate palace which was erected as an adjoining royal residence, really incorporated into the architecture of the temple itself. This excavation, conducted by Professor Uvo Hoelscher, has for the first time disclosed to us the details of a royal dwelling with five apartments, that of the Pharaoh, another for his queen, and three closely adjoining apartments, one for each of three ladies of the harem. Each of these apartments was supplied with a bath, and the equipment for water supply and drainage is still largely in place, although the palace was erected about 1200 B.C. It is greatly hoped that the excavation of the adjoining royal offices may disclose official records, perhaps written on papyrus. The Institute is planning to continue this architectural survey throughout the whole of Egypt.

It is also expected that the work of inscription salvage will continue, and it is planned to extend it as soon as possible to the opposite shore of the Nile to include the colossal temple of Karnak. This enormous building will demand the work of a great expedition for years; but the effort must pass on to other buildings and continue until all the written records of the Nile have been saved for science.

Some of these have already reached the national museum in Cairo, but the scientific staff of the Cairo Museum is too heavily burdened with administration to undertake the publication of the vast body of written records which the museum now includes. The largest group of written documents awaiting study in the museum is a great series of wooden coffins, bearing certain enormously ancient religious texts written in ink on their interior walls. In some cases a single coffin contains as many as five or six hundred lines of writing. The coffins are usually built of massive cedar planks, drawn from the forests of Lebanon a thousand years or more before Solomon purchased his timber there for the temple at Jerusalem; for, as written in the coffins, these Coffin Texts, as we call them, are for the most part over four thousand years old, and the ancient sources from which they were copied into the coffins were probably much older. The coffins themselves begin to contain these texts in the twenty-third century B.C. Written in black ink, if they have been well protected, these texts are as legible today as when they were first written; but unfortunately they have often suffered damage and decay, even after they have reached the museum. In the great majority of cases the work of copying is therefore exceedingly difficult and laborious. Neverthe-

less their peculiar importance is ample compensation for the labor of copying; for in these writings we find emerging for the first time a new revelation, which was dawning upon the minds of these men of over four thousand years ago: the belief that felicity in the life beyond the grave will be reserved for those who have lived a morally worthy life on earth. In these documents therefore we have the earliest known evidence that man has discovered a realm of ethical values, a new arena of human achievement—the conquest of self, a victory higher than that of purely material conquest such as we find in those colossal royal tombs which we call the pyramids. By such purely material agencies as these titanic husks of masonry, in which they enveloped their royal bodies, the earlier pharaohs had sought to ensure purely physical survival; but after a lapse of five or six centuries which had revealed the futility of merely physical survival, we find in the Coffin Texts the dawning consciousness that worthy character will be the sole basis of survival and happiness after death.

Under the able editorship of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner of London, assisted by Dr. A. de Buck, the Oriental Institute has for six years past been engaged in copying and saving these texts. The coffins are taken to pieces in a large gallery in the Cairo Museum, the planks are set up on tables and photographed, and the hand copies, which contain much that is lost in a photograph, are carefully made and conscientiously checked. Another season will see the great Cairo series completed. The coffins in the European museums are also very nearly finished, and the few remaining in America can probably be completed in a single winter's work. Then the laborious task of editing, translating, and publication will begin—a task of several years, for the copies comprise many thousand lines of text. When the publication is completed, we shall at last be in a position to understand the famous Egyptian Book of the Dead, which is very largely built up from the Coffin Texts; but the text of the Book of the Dead has been so corrupted by careless scribes that, in spite of the fact that several translations into English exist, much of it is at present quite unintelligible.

As I have elsewhere said, such sources as the Coffin Texts disclose to us the fact that the Nile Valley was being transformed from a battlefield of purely material conquests into an arena of social forces which disclose the emergence of conscience and the earliest known cry for social justice, later to be taken up and sounded far down the ages by the greatest prophets of the ancient East, Egyptian, Hebrew, Christian, and Moslem. At the same time other researches of the Institute are revealing man's earliest ability to contemplate rationally the visible world about him, and disregarding the shackles of inherited

belief in demoniacal medicine, to make a rational effort to penetrate the mysteries of the human body. In the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, the earliest known treatise on surgery, and at present the earliest known scientific discussion, the Institute is about to publish a document copied in the seventeenth century B.C., but without doubt a thousand years older. This extraordinary treatise reveals the fact that man's earliest ability to divest his mind of theological tradition and to contemplate the world from a rational point of view, is already discernible at least a millennium before the rise of Greek civilization introduced the complete emancipation of the human mind.

It will be observed that in such researches as the Coffin Texts project and the study of this surgical treatise, the Institute is disclosing the gradual unfolding of ancient human life in all directions, as the earlier, purely material conquests created a stabler social situation, in which permanence and stability of institutions offered the human spirit the opportunity and the stimulus, the security and the leisure, for the development of those new and intangible values of which the life of man had never before been aware.

Reference has already been made to the heavy burden of administrative work carried by the staff of the national museum of Egypt—a burden which led the Oriental Institute to undertake the publication of the great body of Coffin Texts preserved in that museum. This situation with regard to the staff, together with the manifest insufficiency of the present museum building, became increasingly evident as the work on the Coffin Texts proceeded, and eventually led to an effort to make outside aid available. It was under these circumstances that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., made his proffer of a gift of ten million dollars for a new museum at Cairo and for the maintenance of an adequate scientific staff. In making the offer of this magnificent gift, the greatest ever placed at the disposition of humanistic and historical research, Mr. Rockefeller asked only for officially guaranteed assurances that the new museum would be administered for a term of years by a staff sufficiently large and scientifically competent. The gift was never refused, as has been commonly stated by the press, but after a reasonable lapse of time, lacking the indispensable assurances for which he asked, Mr. Rockefeller withdrew his offer of the gift.

It has been one of the purposes of the Institute from the first to do all in its power to see that the enormous body of original documents of every kind, already salvaged in the Near East, should be properly housed and protected in modern museum buildings where they may be subjected to the needed processes of physical conservation, installed, and exhibited as far as may be useful and instructive

to the public, and above all exhaustively studied, published, and thus made accessible to scientists all over the civilized world. It was in pursuance of this policy that the Institute has done what it could in this direction in Egypt. As we turn now to take up the work of the Institute in Western Asia, it is gratifying to report more satisfactory results in Palestine, where Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr.'s gift of two million dollars will for the first time enable the Palestine government properly to house, preserve, exhibit, and study the memorials of a land whose past is more cherished and revered than the past of any other land. The new museum building will occupy a noble site just outside the walls of Jerusalem at the northeast corner of the city, where it will command an impressive prospect of the Temple Mount, the city walls, and the Mount of Olives. The architectural plans are about completed and the building will be ready for occupancy in 1930.

The Institute has realized from the first the vital importance of effective attention to Western Asia, where the amount of evidence to be salvaged is overwhelming. So large has been the volume of cuneiform documents, the innumerable multitude of clay tablet writings, that it has ceased to be possible for the individual scholar to keep abreast of the new materials. Every published instalment of new records has brought with it a list of unfamiliar words, which the cuneiform scholars have never seen before, and of which they often do not know the meaning. In the earlier days of cuneiform research each scholar kept his card catalogue of such new words, forming his own personally compiled dictionary. The day has long since passed when the strength and time of the individual scholar were equal to this task. Six years ago, therefore, the Oriental Institute organized a staff of collaborators consisting chiefly of graduate students and doctors of the University of Chicago, and under the editorship of Dr. D. D. Luckenbill, then professor of Assyriology in the same institution, the work of compiling a comprehensive dictionary of the ancient Assyrian language was begun. The plan was to file every occurrence of each word together with its context—a method so successfully followed in the production of the great Murray Dictionary of the English language at Oxford, and also by the Egyptian Dictionary at Berlin, a project which has been going on for over thirty years. Our Assyrian Dictionary materials at present contain nearly six hundred and seventy-five thousand alphabetically filed cards, a block of material which probably represents somewhat more than two-thirds of the available cuneiform sources. In this work we shall have when completed the first Assyrian dictionary to be based on all the known cuneiform documents. After Dr. Luckenbill's lamented death in June, 1927, Dr. Edward Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania

was called as his successor, and Dr. Chiera is now in charge of this great dictionary task.

The work of the Institute in Western Asia, however, has not been confined to home projects carried on here in America. Already in its first winter's work in 1919-1920, the preliminary reconnaissance of the Institute in Western Asia included a hazardous expedition along the Middle Euphrates, which resulted in salvaging a group of wall paintings, the oldest of which date from the first century of the Christian era, and prove to be the first, and thus far the only known surviving Oriental ancestors of Byzantine painting. The later paintings of the group belong to the third century of our era. They reveal to us a group of Roman soldiers at worship, led by their garrison commander. These are the easternmost representations of Roman legionaries ever found, and the great fortress of Dûra-Europos, which contains the paintings, has been disclosed by further excavation as a Hellenistic foundation which is furnishing priceless evidences of the commingling of East and West in that cosmopolitan age.

In 1925, by the generous aid of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., the Institute was able to begin the excavation of the historic site of Armageddon (Megiddo), the powerful stronghold of central Palestine which was so often the strategic centre of power between Asia and Africa. The commodious house which this expedition has erected at Armageddon serves as the headquarters of the Oriental Institute in Western Asia. Begun under the leadership of Dr. Clarence S. Fisher as field director, the work has been continued under Mr. P. L. O. Guy. The task of salvaging all the evidence in this enormous mound will consume years of labor. At present the excavations have passed down through four levels, and the lowermost of these seems to be a city of King Solomon. Its clearance has disclosed a series of stables, in interesting confirmation of the Book of Kings, which tells us of Solomon's use of Armageddon as a centre of his horse-marketing operations. While the walls of the building are mostly gone, the massive stone piers which supported the roof are still in position; they still display the tie-holes where the horses were fastened, and a number of the mangers are still preserved.

The portable monuments discovered include a large number of Egyptian scarabs and other indications of Egyptian influence. Early in the work a massive fragment of a huge stone stela was discovered, bearing the name of the Pharaoh Shishak whom we know from the Book of Kings as the conqueror of Palestine in the tenth century B.C., and whom his own records in Egypt proclaim as having captured Armageddon. At the same time a number of Babylonian

cylinder seals with admirably cut intaglios and cuneiform inscriptions, besides the statue of a Hittite warrior-god, demonstrate the presence of foreign influence on the Asiatic side. We are now beginning to see the streets and houses, and to behold for the first time the town plan of a Solomonic city. For the Jerusalem of Solomon has long since perished, and we are now uncovering an outlying city of his kingdom, where we can make our first observations among the buildings, like the stables we have just mentioned, which were erected in the reign of the most splendid of the Hebrew kings. This field-work is equipped and organized on a permanent basis, and it is expected to continue until all the available evidence in Palestine has been duly salvaged.

Among the northerners whom the Egyptian sculptors have depicted on the walls of our temple at Medinet Habu, we not infrequently find the Hittites. In the ruins of Armageddon we have found the statue of a Hittite warrior-god. During the World War, as is now well known, the researches of Hrozný and Forrer resulted in the decipherment of Hittite cuneiform, revealing a totally new world in which the so-called Hittites are discovered as actors in that great cycle of the Trojan Wars, which have thereby become a well-established sequence of historical events thus disclosed to us in contemporary Hittite sources. We begin to discern the far-reaching Asiatic background in constant contact with which Greek civilization arose. In the investigation of this situation the Oriental Institute is deeply interested.

Three years ago a preliminary exploring expedition sent out by the Institute under H. H. von der Osten as field director, resulted in the discovery of over fifty hitherto unknown Hittite sites, towns, settlements, and cities. On the basis of these observations and with funds contributed by the General Education Board, a mound known as Alishar Hüyük some one hundred and twenty-eight miles east-southeast of Angora was chosen as the first centre of intensive work. Here the excavations under Dr. Erich Schmidt have for two seasons past been revealing for the first time the sequence of evidence to be expected in such a mound, especially the stratigraphically dated pottery, as revealed by the successive strata lying one over the other. No such body of observations has ever been made in a Hittite mound, for no site of Hittite origin has ever been systematically cleared for this purpose. The mound of Alishar therefore is being used as a source for the new and fundamental data which are indispensable to the understanding of the evidence and the dating of the discoveries to

be revealed by future Hittite excavation. Among the materials furnished by this excavation the most notable are perhaps a series of Hittite bodies, the first ever found, which should therefore reveal to us for the first time the race of the Hittites as determined by the physical anthropologists. These bodies are now in course of investigation by Dr. Fay Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago. It is a pleasure to express here our appreciation of the cordial spirit of co-operation which the officials of the Turkish government have exhibited toward the Oriental Institute since these Hittite researches began.

These Hittite investigations, following closely upon the heels of Hittite decipherment, are now in a stage about like that of Egyptology immediately after the decipherment by Champollion a century ago, when the great decipherer himself was the first professor of the new science of Egyptology. Hittite, however, deciphered as it was during the Great War, has been somewhat slower in developing as a branch of university teaching and research. There has never yet been a professor of Hittite.

Such were the situation and the record of the Oriental Institute in November, 1928, operating almost exclusively on temporary pledges, the latest of which would expire in 1932, and with an endowment of only \$250,000. Was this research laboratory for the study of early man soon to disband its various staffs, forsake its buildings, and cease operations, or could it look forward to permanent operations? This question, a very pressing one a month ago, has now been answered.

I am authorized to announce that the Oriental Institute is now assured a splendid new building, an annual grant which ensures the maintenance of its research projects for the next ten years, and an endowment for teaching which will enable the Institute to call to its ranks a group of the leading Orientalists and historians of the world. These new funds form the larger part of plans for a total endowment of nine and a half million, which will place the Institute and its programme of research and teaching on a permanent basis. Henceforth we shall be able for the first time to look upon the Oriental Institute as a permanent agency, to be employed in meeting this great responsibility for saving and interpreting to the modern world the vast body of perishing human records which still lie scattered far across the distant lands of the ancient Near East.

As a result of this splendid support the Oriental Institute is now able to lay out a programme which will include teaching, research, publication, and a new building. The teaching staff will be compre-

hensive and will include the establishment of the first chair of Hittology. Investigation in this new science, both at the University of Chicago and in field expeditions, will be carried on as permanent research projects. Among these it is hoped that the Institute may produce the first dictionary of Hittite, in connection with the development of the Assyrian dictionary. At the same time Sumerian, the language which was the first to be written in cuneiform, and which was deciphered a little earlier than Hittite, will also be represented both in the teaching and in the researches carried on at the Institute, and it is therefore planned also to appoint a professor of Sumerian, who will likewise be the first to occupy such a post.

The programme of the Institute, indeed, makes a highly specialized teaching staff indispensable. To man the staffs of its research projects both at home and abroad, it will be called upon to train many of its own personnel. To deal effectively with the great body of cuneiform documents there must therefore be available a cuneiform group including two general Assyriologists, besides the Hittologist and Sumerologist just mentioned. All of these specialists will devote as much time as possible to the Assyrian dictionary. In Egyptology there must likewise be a substaff of at least two men, one for the later age of Demotic and Coptic and the other for the earlier period of classical Egyptian. Both of these men will be training young recruits for service with the Epigraphic Expedition. In Hebrew and Arabic the present staff of three men now in the department of Oriental languages is sufficient. The above group of nine men will form the philological and interpretative staff of the Institute. To these must be added another group teaching the history of civilization as the researches of the Institute disclose it. This group will necessarily include a teacher of field archaeology and practical field methods; a professor of Oriental history, another of Oriental and Mediterranean archaeology, and finally a professor of Oriental art.

Under these thirteen men and often serving as their assistants and research associates, the Institute will be able to appoint a small and carefully selected group of fellows, each receiving a fellowship of \$2000 a year. Whenever it becomes necessary or useful to send them out to the field for special service with one of the field expeditions, a special fund will make it possible to pay the travelling expenses of these appointees, whether teachers or fellows. Such service will be part of the fellows' training and will often be invaluable to the researches of the teaching members of the Institute; for teaching and research will be so closely associated in the Institute that it will sometimes be difficult to distinguish between them.

Such a programme of combined teaching and research will require an extensive headquarters building here in America. There must in the first place be ample space to receive the large bodies of original monuments and other materials which the field expeditions will be sending in. There must be a laboratory with complete equipment, where they may be put through the preservative processes of physical conservation and then carefully consigned to storage magazines, or installed in museum cases. For the proper exhibition of important and instructive monuments the building must contain a series of large exhibition halls, forming the museum of the Institute. There must also be a group of work-rooms for the study of these materials, and their use in teaching will require class-rooms, seminar rooms, a large lecture hall, and especially a library and reading room, with offices for the two librarians. The Institute is already issuing an extensive series of publications, which will necessitate editorial offices, a draughting room, and a photographic laboratory with photostatic equipment. The business and administrative affairs of such an organization with an income and personnel exceeding those of the average college, will of course also require offices for the administrative staff. This building is now being planned and the ground will be broken within the next few months.

The walls of this first laboratory dedicated to the greatest transition in the whole course of evolutionary development, will not inappropriately rise close beside the imposing new cathedral recently dedicated to the upbuilding of religious life at the University of Chicago. For the disclosures which the researches of the Oriental Institute should bring to the world will contribute to make more clear to all modern men that imposing vista of the human past which saw the emergence of the highest human values, and transformed our father Man from savagery in some remote cavern, where at most he could count five by the aid of his fingers, into a godlike creature who reached out to the stars on those Babylonian plains and made the first computations which have at length enabled us to plumb the vast depths of the universe. It was along with such responses to the visible world of Nature around him in the ancient East that these early men began to look also within and first became conscious of an inner world—a world of new and higher values, the hardly audible whispers of inner impulses about to become the imperious voice of conscience. It was there in the ancient East that the power of character first dawned in the human heart, and with it the realization of social obligations which character lays upon the individual. Here emerge for the first time these fundamentals of enlightened religion

and the basis of the great religions which have since arisen in the ancient Near East.

There are some who have fancied that such investigations, dealing with an immature age, concern man exclusively in his endeavors to appropriate the purely material values of the physical world around him, and that it was not until the advent of the Hebrews and especially of Greek culture that we can follow the aspiring soul of man in such a sense that we are at once conscious of kinship and fellowship with him. In following the life of man in the ancient Orient our sense of kinship and of fellowship with him is strangely enhanced and intensified when we realize that in the lives of these men of the East the capacity for contemplation was emerging for the first time in human experience. The flowering of the human spirit is far older than we have fancied.

I wonder if Spenser realized how old were some of the thoughts which he has phrased so beautifully in the *Faerie Queene*. In the speech of Despair we find the following lines in praise of death, which it is very instructive to place beside the thoughts of an ancient Egyptian Job, who was ruminating on the same subject nearly 2000 years before Christ, that is some 3600 years before Spenser was born.

SPENSER	THE EGYPTIAN JOB
He there does now enjoy eternal rest,	Death is before me today, Like the recovery of a sick man,
Is not short pain well borne that brings long ease,	Like going forth into a garden after sickness
And lays the soul to sleep in quiet grave? Sleep after toil, port after stormy seas, Ease after war, death after life, does greatly please. ² Death is before me today, Like the course of the freshet, Like the return of a man from the war-galley to his house.

It was under the burden of suffering and misfortune that early man first gained the capacity to contemplate human life; it was under the shadow of affliction and death that the contemplative life first emerged. Those who have so often quoted Vergil's familiar words, "et haec olim meminisse juvabit", have probably not been aware that the same reflection had been coined in the ancient East 2000 years before Vergil lived, when the Egyptian Sindebad, in telling of his own hardships, exclaimed: "Happy he who tells of his misfortunes after they are past!" It is to this ancient East of our cultural ancestry that we of the Oriental Institute are turning.

The inspiring task which confronts America in the Near East can not be achieved without the aid of a new generation of young

² *Faerie Queene*, IX. 40 ff.

Americans who are willing to spend the years necessary to gain the training and equipment without which we can not hope to meet these new responsibilities which await the historian in the ancient Orient. Such new recruits, both young men and young women, may look forward to a life-work of absorbing interest and of ideal usefulness to science, coupled with a living return for labor achieved. Great opportunities await the young historians in this field. It will be a life of some sacrifices. Those who elect to undertake it must set their faces to the East, feeling a deep reverence for the life of man on the earth and highly resolving to devote their all to this New Crusade. To such spirits it will not be irksome to dwell among the memories of the past; to them the recovery of the unfolding life of man will not be a toilsome task, but rather a joyful quest, the modern quest for the Holy Grail, from which arduous journeys and weary exile in distant lands will not deter us. For in this crusade of modern scientific effort in the ancient Orient, we know what the first crusaders could not yet discern, that we are returning to ancestral shores.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

THE PACT OF OSBORNE

A CONTROVERSIAL EPISODE IN THE MAKING OF RUMANIA

IN the short period between the Congress of Paris and the various incidents that led up to the rupture between Austria and Sardinia in 1859 the chief preoccupation of the Powers of Europe was the question of establishing a new régime for the Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. The decision of the Congress to obtain full information on the subject by appointing an international commission to investigate conditions there and report the results of its findings shows the advance which the Powers had made in handling international problems, while the plan of convoking popular assemblies to express the wishes of the inhabitants was a concession to Napoleon III.'s avowed faith in the principle of nationality. Yet international enterprises, however hopeful in their inception, are rarely able to escape the counter-play of national interest. Austria and Turkey were, for obvious reasons, bitterly opposed to the union of the principalities—the form in which the Rumanian question had first appeared before the Congress—and had assented to the plebiscite only because Great Britain had thrown her support to France and the other Powers in favor of union. Before many months, however, Palmerston and Clarendon were contending that so drastic an innovation would prove too great a menace to the shaky fabric of Ottoman power, and, as a consequence, after the firman of convocation had been issued, the Porte, with Austria's connivance, set to work by fraud and violence to pack the Moldavian divan in the belief that a vote adverse to union in one of the principalities, would invalidate the claim that the provinces themselves really desired this reform. The alteration in British policy coincident as it was with Napoleon's active espousal of union, bade fair to shatter the alliance which had so lately humbled Russia;¹ and, since the international commission had no authority to watch over the elections, the controversy ended in a quarrel among the ambassadors at Constantinople. Thouvenel, the French ambassador, demanded of the Porte that it suspend the electoral preparations in Moldavia, and order a revision of the list of qualified voters. Lord

¹ Much controversy had also taken place over the fixing of the new Russo-Turkish frontier, France throwing her support to Russia, while Great Britain, backed by Austria, upheld the Turkish claims. The question was finally settled by a conference at Paris in January, 1857, but the episode left angry feelings.

Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador, and Baron Prokesch, the Austrian internuncio, took the position, on the other hand, that no intervention of this sort was necessary or desirable, and that the elections should be held. Then the Porte's proposal to suspend matters until London and Paris could reach an agreement was blocked by Stratford; while Thouvenel, on the other hand, refused to consent to a conference of the ambassadors. The multiplicity of telegrams between the cabinets and their ambassadors at Constantinople seemed only to draw Europe deeper into the meshes, and the Porte itself contributed powerfully to the muddle by bending first to the one side, then to the other, in accordance with the apprehensions of the moment. Finally, supported by Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia, the French government instructed Thouvenel to demand immediate annulment of the elections in Moldavia² on threat of severing diplomatic relations, and, since the Porte was still determined, *more suo*, to play for time, the four ambassadors hauled down their flags. Thus the quarrel had reached the dimensions of an international crisis.³

The only practicable settlement of the question lay in the conclusion of some *entente* between the principal antagonists, namely, France and Great Britain. On the part of the former, the question of forcing the Porte to give way to French dictation had become a "point of honor",⁴ but, apart from such temporary "satisfaction", Napoleon was not unwilling to seek a basis for an accommodation.⁵

² The elections had finally taken place, July 19-21, and resulted, of course, in a separatist victory, though most of the unionists who were privileged to vote had absented themselves from the polls.

³ For a fuller account of this controversy, see the writer's "Concert of Europe and Moldavia in 1857", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII. 227 ff.

⁴ Thouvenel, *Trois Années de la Question d'Orient*, p. 150; Cowley to Clarendon, Aug. 4, 1857, F.O. 78: 1201, no. 1120, etc. After the Porte had failed to persuade Thouvenel to let the quarrel be referred to a conference at Paris, the Sultan thought to appease the French by making a scapegoat of Reshid Pasha, the grand vizier—a solution to which France naturally could not subscribe without, as Walewski expressed it, "exposing herself to the reproach of following in Turkey a personal policy" (Walewski to Persigny, Aug. 3, 1857, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 84), and though Thouvenel seems actually to have instigated Reshid's fall, Walewski later expressed his disapproval of such a course (Cowley to Clarendon, Oct. 4, 1857, F.O. 27: 1204, no. 1382).

⁵ It is a rather singular fact that, while at first the frauds in Moldavia had formed the basis of French action, the chief issue soon became the question whether, in accordance with a decision of the ambassadors and the Porte on May 30, the electoral regulations should be identically applied in both principalities. Then the course of events shifted the ground of the controversy to the matter of delaying the elections and finally to the question of immediate annulment. The propriety of holding an honest plebiscite seldom finds a place in the discussion, and even the question of union, which was at bottom the actual stake, was almost completely ignored. Clarendon himself showed singular ineptitude when he de-

With Great Britain, the question of *amour-propre* was perhaps less national than personal, since Palmerston was not accustomed to accept defeat in a diplomatic battle; yet a disposition to leave matters to Stratford, whose experience was invaluable, but whose arrogance was notorious, had largely contributed to bring about the present *impasse*. The fact that Stratford had undoubtedly incurred his government's displeasure by his high-handed conduct⁶ was now, it would seem, a slight inducement to concession; the fact also that the British ministers were forced against their will to acknowledge that the elections might be open to serious scrutiny⁷ would seem to suggest a rational reopening of the question. Yet the consciousness of being in a false position does not usually prove a sedative to angry feelings. Clarendon made much of Thouvenel's refusal to attend a conference,⁸ and Palmerston wrote letters to Persigny, the French ambassador at London, which so exasperated Napoleon that he refused to allow any more to be given him to read.⁹ Only gradually it seemed to dawn on both sides that neither was sufficiently clear on what had occurred to carry on the debate with any prospect of a peaceful issue. There was no chance of an adjustment unless the two Powers cut through the mass of controversial detail, with which telegrams and despatches were congested, and sought to examine the question *vis-à-vis* on a fairly restricted basis. Matters had gone too far, indeed, for either side to win a decisive victory. Fortunately, too, neither Power was willing to wreck an alliance which had lately fathered an international settlement. And, finally, the sudden news of the Great Mutiny stunned the British public into a realization that the question of the principalities was to England of relatively little concern. Palmerston

explored the fact that the Powers should come to the brink of war over the question of whether persons with mortgaged property should or should not vote in Moldavia (Persigny to Walewski, July 20, 1857, Aff. Étr., Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 63). So complicated had the situation become that the Vienna *Oestdeutsche Post* (Aug. 9) really wondered if there were any other recourse than war.

⁶ See Riker, *op. cit.* Yet Palmerston's letters to Persigny (Aff. Étr., Angleterre, vol. 708) show that there was no disposition to make a scapegoat of Stratford, who was loyally and consistently sustained against Thouvenel.

⁷ In a last overture before the rupture at Constantinople Clarendon had suggested that the whole question might come before a meeting of the ambassadors, when "all alleged grievances could be brought to light" (Persigny to Walewski, July 30, 1857, *ibid.*, no. 67). In response to a question later in the House of Lords, Clarendon admitted "*prima facie* proof of irregularity" (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., CXLVII, 1529). Though the British commissioner in the principalities had admitted that scandals had occurred, Stratford had consistently ignored or made light of the charges; hence the truth was only beginning to impress itself upon the British ministers.

⁸ Persigny to Walewski, Aug. 2, 1857, Aff. Étr., Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 69.

⁹ Émile Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, III. 415.

had already incurred sharp criticism from the opposition papers for his handling of the Eastern Question.¹⁰ If his government could retreat with some degree of dignity, there was every chance that Great Britain, at least, would welcome an escape from a predicament which her own vacillation and the effrontery of her ambassador had combined to bring about. It only remained for France, who had forced the issue, to make the first move.

The magnanimity of Napoleon III. was quite equal to the occasion, and no doubt he had the sagacity to believe that momentary concessions would not appreciably alter the final result. As far back as May he had meditated a visit to the Queen of England,¹¹ and now the execution of this plan might serve a practical purpose. So on August 6 the emperor's party arrived at Osborne on the Isle of Wight to enjoy a few days' hospitality at the "summer palace". Having already an esteem for both emperor and empress, the queen and prince consort had no difficulty in making themselves agreeable, and Victoria testified later to her satisfaction with the visit. Napoleon and Albert enjoyed two discussions of the international situation, and, though they did not agree on all points, there was no trace of any rancor, as far as may be judged from the prince's own narrative.¹² When it came to be a question of settling the pending crisis, the British royalties, mindful of their constitutional position, withdrew themselves from the picture. Both Palmerston and Clarendon had come to Osborne for the practical objects of the meeting, and Napoleon had with him his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Walewski. On August 9 an agreement was definitely reached, and, to all appearances, a reconciliation was effected.

We have little evidence on the course of the debate which led to the agreement. The decisive session had taken place, we are told, on the night of the seventh, and did not break up until two in the morning.¹³ According to Walewski, the British ministers were duly enlightened upon the frauds which had been perpetrated in Moldavia, and, though they had hoped at first that France would not insist upon an annulment of the elections, the two statesmen, on finding Napoleon

¹⁰ More particularly the *Press* and the *Saturday Review*. The *Times*, though not opposed to the government, was very caustic on Stratford's part in the imbroglio.

¹¹ Sir Theodore Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, IV. 53-54. Persigny had made a special effort, it seems, to persuade Napoleon to try to come to better terms with England.

¹² *Ibid.*, ch. LXXIX.

¹³ Vitzthum, *St. Petersburg and London*, I. 225; Walewski also announced the decision in part in a letter to Thouvenel the next day. *Actes et Documents relatifs à la Régénération de la Roumanie*, ed. Petrescu, Sturdza, and Sturdza, vol. V., no. 1671.

obdurate, and being unable to prove that the elections had been "equally conducted", had finally, albeit reluctantly, given way.¹⁴ Clarendon told Count Apponyi, the Austrian ambassador, that Napoleon was very much exasperated against the Turks, expressing doubt upon the stability of the Ottoman Empire, and affirming that "the Christian Powers would have played a fine rôle, if they had chased them out of Europe, and pushed them back into Asia"; that the British ministers had then convinced him that the existence of the Ottoman Empire was a necessity for the equilibrium of Europe, and that the day of its downfall would be the harbinger of a general European war.¹⁵ These two accounts can only be said to supplement each other, but it is natural that each side should dwell upon the reluctance of the other to give way. One is unable to guess whether the grounds for compromise were readily grasped, or not.

Of more importance is the question as to what was really decided; for there was no signed convention, and we have several versions of the Pact of Osborne, which can not be entirely reconciled. On the nature of the British concession, there is no conflicting evidence. Great Britain was to request Austria to join her in demanding of the Porte that the Moldavian elections be immediately annulled and new electoral lists be prepared on the basis of the interpretation of the firman that had already been adopted in Wallachia. The impression, which the French wished later to create, was that this decision bore no relation to the concession that they themselves had made;¹⁶ but such a view is inconsistent with common-sense. The French did concede something—there are statements of Walewski to prove it—and it is impossible to suppose that the British government would have accepted defeat in a diplomatic battle without being assured of compensation. "Voyant que la France plaçait la question d'amour-propre en première ligne", said Clarendon to Apponyi, "nous avons pensé qu'il valait mieux sacrifier la forme pour obtenir le fond, et nous avons proposé de conseiller unanimement au Sultan l'annulation des élections et la rectification des listes électorales, à condition que la France renonçât complètement à l'idée de l'union politique des Prin-

¹⁴ Cowley to Clarendon, Aug. 15, 1857, F.O. 27: 1202, no. 1144. Walewski wrote the French minister at Turin (Aug. 13) that, "les explications que nous avons échangées en édifant Lord Palmerston et Lord Clarendon sur plusieurs points dont ils n'avaient qu'une connaissance imparfaite, ont conduit les deux ministres à reconnaître que la sincérité des élections qui ont eu lieu en Moldavie pouvait être contestée". Aff. Étr., Sardaigne, vol. 342, no. 29.

¹⁵ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, 1857, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E.

¹⁶ Walewski to Thouvenel, Aug. 21 and Sept. 3, 1857, *Actes et Documents*, vol. V., nos. 1717 and 1750.

cipautés.”¹⁷ In contradiction to this alleged statement of Clarendon’s, we have Walewski’s protest that one of his letters proves, “combien on serait peu fondé à prétendre que nous avons dû renoncer à la manière dont nous avons toujours envisagé la réunion des provinces Dannubiennes, pour obtenir l’acquiescement du gouvernement anglais à l’annulation des élections moldaves”.¹⁸ One might almost suppose from this that Walewski was actually denying that France had renounced the idea of union (namely, union under a single prince), which she had steadily advocated. But the statement was probably made in order to minimize the notion of reciprocal concessions.

We are thus brought to the question of just what France did concede. Albert’s biographer tells us that the prince persuaded Palmerston and Clarendon to draft a memorandum of the agreement and present it to Walewski for his signature—provided, of course, the French were satisfied with its accuracy. That portion of the memorandum which treats of the French concession runs as follows:

Secondly, it is agreed that, in the deliberations to be held at Paris by the Congress to which the Report of the Commissioners at Bucharest and the representations of the divans of Wallachia and Moldavia are to be submitted it shall be the endeavour of the French and British governments, on the one hand to secure the suzerainty [*sic*] of the Sultan over the Danubian Principalities, and, on the other hand, to assure to those Provinces an internal organization calculated to maintain their ancient privileges, and to promote their well-being and prosperity. For this purpose it is agreed to be desirable that the two Provinces shall have similar organic institutions, and that, while retaining their separate governments, they should have a common system in regard to all matters, civil and military, to which such a community of system can advantageously be established.¹⁹

When this document was presented to Walewski, he is said to have assented to its veracity, but refused to sign it on the ground that his government wished to keep the satisfaction to be obtained from the Porte distinct from the arrangements to be made for the principalities, and he did not wish it to appear that France had paid a price for the Porte’s humiliation.²⁰ In this reasoning we can perhaps imagine the ground of France’s desire to represent the concessions, when they should become known, as entirely unrelated, but one could hardly suppose that any one could be so dull as not to perceive the truth. Moreover, why did the absence of a signature affect the moral strength of the bargain? Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador

¹⁷ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E.

¹⁸ Walewski to Thouvenel, Sept. 3, *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1750.

¹⁹ Memorandum, Aug. 9, 1857. F.O. 93: 67x, no. 19.

²⁰ Martin, *op. cit.*, IV. 114.

at Paris, says that Lord Cowley, his British colleague, showed him a copy of the memorandum which Walewski had signed;²¹ but there is no such copy to be found in the British archives, and what is officially regarded as the original document certainly bears no signature.²² Moreover, investigation shows that the statement of Albert's biographer rests, almost word for word, on a memorandum in the royal archives at Windsor, dated August 10, 1856, and signed by the initial "C", accompanying a letter of Clarendon to the queen, August 20. Another reason for Walewski's refusal will be presently suggested.

The version which Walewski himself gives of the Pact of Osborne—at least the one which he penned immediately afterward—is contained in a letter to the French ambassador at Vienna, Baron Bourqueney.²³ The part pertaining to France's obligation is as follows:

Nous avons dû, comme de raison, une fois le présent réglé, nous préoccuper de l'avenir, et tout me fait espérer d'après les conversations échangées à Osborne, que nous nous entendrons sur la conduite à tenir au congrès de Paris quant à l'organisation définitive. Le terrain de ces transactions sera celui d'une large union administrative, qui, à nos yeux au moins, pourra être le prélude d'une union complète. Rien de définitif ni de précis n'a été déterminé; mais nous avons dit au Gouvernement anglais, après qu'il nous a eu manifesté sa disposition d'agir dans notre sens à Constantinople, ce que nous étions décidés à lui dire, sans l'incident de la rupture, (et) c'est que nous avons toujours eu l'intention de chercher à nous entendre et à nous mettre d'accord au moyen de concessions mutuelles, et que, si l'union complète et avec un prince étranger, combinaison que nous trouvions la meilleure, rencontrait de trop grandes difficultés, nous étions prêts à modifier nos vues, afin d'éviter un désaccord avec nos alliés.

Pour le moment, toutefois, il ne saurait nous convenir, de peur de fausses interprétations, de discuter les bases d'une entente quelconque; il faut d'abord que la Commission finisse son travail, que les Divans se prononcent, et, lorsque la Conférence de Paris se réunira, nous arrêterons d'une manière plus précise, avec le Gouvernement anglais, la combinaison à laquelle nous pourrions nous rallier.

Now, it will be perceived that Walewski declares that the groundwork of the new organization for the principalities is to be a "broad administrative union", though nothing more precise had been decided upon for the present. He says nothing of two separate hospodars

²¹ Hübner, *Neuf Ans de Souvenirs d'un Ambassadeur d'Autriche à Paris sous le Second Empire, 1851-1859*, II. 45.

²² Neither does the copy which Cowley sent to Lord Malmesbury in June, 1858, for the purpose of enlightening the new Tory Cabinet.

²³ Walewski to Bourqueney, Aug. 9, 1857, *Aff. Étr., Autriche*, vol. 468, f. 276 ff. This letter bears the note: "Cette lettre a été communiquée avant d'être expédiée à Lord Palmerston et à Lord Clarendon, qui en ont approuvé tous les termes comme reproduisant fidèlement l'accord qui s'est établi à Osborne entre eux d'une part et M. le Comte de Walewski de l'autre."

(though such may be implied); and he seems to want to weaken the force of what he has said by affirming that no bases of an understanding were discussed. If the language of the British memorandum is rather ponderous, that of the French account is a marvel of succinctness! The following year, when the Conference of Paris met to concert a definite plan, France did not insist on the mergence of the principalities, notwithstanding her professed preference for it,²⁴ but Walewski told Cowley that at Osborne he had insisted on the "principle of legislative union", and that "this was not objected to".²⁵ Is that what is meant by a "broad administrative union"? Is that what the British meant by a "common system in regard to *all* matters *civil* and *military*"? If we are to place any credit in the version which Hübner gives, as proceeding from Walewski himself, "*les deux Principautés auront une organisation, militaire, douanière et judiciaire en commun, mais il y aura deux gouvernements et deux hospodars, comme par le passé*".²⁶ This is also admitted in a memorandum, drawn up some time in August by the French Foreign Office, which, in view of prospective opposition to union at the forthcoming Congress, assumes the necessity of a plan that "shall have, as its basis, a sort of association, founded on uniform institutions, permitting the two provinces to organize a single army, and to establish a customs line, and facilitating, in general, the adoption of such other measures, as might, to advantage, be adopted by both principalities"; and it goes on to say that the system, thus proposed, envisages the maintenance of "two hospodars", rather than a single head or, in other words, union.²⁷ The whole tone of this document indicates that France was reconciled to this arrangement for the present. Such a scheme might well be called a "broad administrative union". Such was what Cowley understood his government to mean, and such was the basis which the British successfully maintained at the Conference of Paris in 1858. One is tempted to believe that Walewski, in seeking to include in the agreement an acceptance of "legislative union", was trying to take advantage of a change of ministries in England, and the degree of accuracy with which information on the Pact of Osborne could be obtained. In any event, France had, for the present, abandoned union, as the term was then applied.

There was also one further condition of the Pact, on which both the French and British versions are agreed. For the present at least,

²⁴ See protocol no. 1 of the conferences: *British and Foreign State Papers*, XLVIII. 81-85.

²⁵ Cowley to Malmesbury, June 4, 1858, F.O. 27: 1251, no. 593.

²⁶ Hübner, *op. cit.*, II. 43.

²⁷ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1740.

the substance of the agreement was to remain secret,²⁸ partly because the Powers were supposed not to commit themselves as to the new arrangements until the Commission's report had been received²⁹ (there is here the suggestion of an intrigue against the spirit of the Treaty of Paris), and partly in order that Napoleon might break the news gently to his friends that he had reversed himself by a secret agreement behind their backs.³⁰ This may well have been the cause of Walewski's refusal to sign the British memorandum. If some one divulged the secret, France could, if she chose, deny that any such agreement had been made.

But in all of Walewski's shambling, there is nothing more curious than his long withholding from Thouvenel the fundamental facts of the Pact of Osborne. The French ambassador had been allowed by his government to wait at his post after severing diplomatic relations, and, oddly enough, before any feature of the Pact was known, the Porte had signified its willingness to annul the elections.³¹ While some incidental matters were under discussion, however, the news came that France and Great Britain had reached an agreement.³² Thouvenel received a telegram from Walewski, dated August 8 (the day before the Pact was finally consummated), announcing that Great Britain would advise Turkey to submit to the French demand, and, as soon as the annulment should be granted, he was to resume diplomatic relations with the Porte.³³ It was not till August 14 that Walewski mentioned the question of union, and then he merely stated (in a confidential despatch) that he had told the Powers which had supported France in the recent crisis that "an exchange of general ideas" had taken place at Osborne, but "nothing precise had been decided".³⁴ Thus kept in the dark about the real truth of the transaction, Thouvenel was amazed to hear it said by various persons that France had completely abandoned union. His Russian colleague even made a point of quizzing him on the ground of the rumor that he had heard, and the French ambassador, while able to convince him of his own good faith, or rather, ignorance of the matter, was obliged to complain to Walewski that "the confidence which sustained and

²⁸ Walewski to Bourquénay, Aug. 9, 1857; Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12; Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, F.O. 78: 1249, no. 740.

²⁹ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, 1857.

³⁰ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, 1857. Napoleon had also stated, according to Clarendon, that "il s'était trop avancé pour abandonner d'un seul coup les principes qu'il avait ouvertement professés jusqu'à présent".

³¹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1683; Bulwer to Clarendon, Aug. 15, 1857, telegram, F.O. 78: 1282.

³² *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1683.

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 1671.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1694.

re-enforced our common action during the crisis has been shaken, and I suffer in not being able to re-establish it". Simultaneously the city was filled with rumors of the abandonment of union, and Stratford assumed a "mysterious air", as though there was much that he might tell, if he should choose.³⁵ Why Walewski should have kept the ambassador in the dark is quite incomprehensible, unless he really wished him to be in a position to show an unassumed ignorance of the bargain, thereby to quiet the suspicions of the embassies. At all events, it was not until August 21 that he hinted at the real truth of the matter;³⁶ and it is no great wonder that Thouvenel remarked to a friend upon the "enigma of Osborne", and questioned whether his government really knew its own mind.³⁷ Who had, meanwhile, divulged the secret, we do not know. The Turkish ambassador at London had telegraphed the whole story to his government, and explicitly counselled secrecy;³⁸ but it is not hard to imagine that there were many opportunities for a "leak" in Turkish official circles. Interestingly enough, the episode reacted unpleasantly on Walewski himself. "The Emperor might, if he chose", wrote Clarendon to Stratford, "declare himself absolved from his engagement, but his minister confines himself to denying that any such engagement has been taken, and he has, moreover, been led to adopt this course with reference (*sic*) to the humiliating position in which the French ambassador has been placed in consequence of our instruction not having been at once acted upon."³⁹

This brings us to mention another curious feature of the tangle. Clarendon had telegraphed Stratford on August 10, acquainting him with the substance of the bargain at Osborne, and adding that Austria had been asked to concur in putting the demand before the Sultan.⁴⁰ Stratford acknowledged this telegram on the twelfth, stating that, as he was not ordered to act at once, he presumed that he was expected to wait for Austria's reply, and he then proceeded to expatiate upon the ill-effects of such a move, which, among other things, would establish the "ascendency of France".⁴¹ Clarendon accordingly replied that the advantages of the agreement seemed to outweigh the disadvantages, and added: "It is, however, very important that the Turkish government should do what we are going to recommend, and

³⁵ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1708.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1717. The hint was, even then, merely conveyed in a denial of the truth.

³⁷ Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

³⁸ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., nos. 1679, 1680.

³⁹ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 25, telegram, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, Aug. 10, *ibid.*

⁴¹ Stratford to Clarendon, Aug. 12, telegram, F.O. 78: 1269.

we rely on your zeal and ability for persuading it to do so.”⁴² Stratford said later that he “was led to expect some further or more precise instructions”,⁴³ and he replied to Clarendon on August 19 that, as the Porte had asked the Turkish ambassador at London for more definite information, he “did not feel at liberty to take any steps beyond the conclusion of the Osborne agreement until [I am] honored with further instructions”.⁴⁴ It is certain that Vienna had sent orders to the internuncio, August 15, to join Stratford in putting the demand before the Porte,⁴⁵ and Stratford was fully aware of this fact; yet he allowed his government’s want of precision and the pretext of the Sultan’s hesitation to deter him from taking the step which was absolutely essential for ending the crisis—a step, which, moreover, was obviously intended. Clarendon expressed his surprise rather brusquely in a telegram of August 20, and bade him act at once.⁴⁶ “What are we to do”, remarked the *Times*, “with a refractory ambassador? France and England are now perfectly agreed on the Danubian Principalities question, the countries are agreed, the sovereigns are agreed, and everybody is satisfied, but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe will not consent. If this is not a strong case of *ego et Rex meus*, it is at any rate ultra-patriotism.”⁴⁷ It is, no doubt, often rather embarrassing for an ambassador to know more than his government about a question in dispute!

It is not astonishing, under the circumstances, that the patience of the French was sorely tried. On learning from Thouvenel that no active step had been taken to bring the Porte to book, Walewski had telegraphed him, August 18, that, if annulment were not granted in three days, he should telegraph the fact, and would probably then be ordered to quit his post.⁴⁸ Clarendon did his best to pacify France,⁴⁹ and expressed to Apponyi his indignation at Stratford’s behavior.⁵⁰ Fortunately both London and Paris were anxious to avoid a new

⁴² Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, telegram, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴³ Stratford to Clarendon, Aug. 26, F.O. 78: 1269, no. 756. It might occur to the reader that Stratford might, conceivably, have been misled by a private letter from Clarendon; but no such letter is to be found in the unpublished Stratford-Canning papers at the Public Record Office, and the ambassador himself bases his arguments on the telegrams he received.

⁴⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, Aug. 19, F.O. 78: 1269, no. 738. One wonders why this explanation was not telegraphed.

⁴⁵ Buol’s instructions to Prokesch, dated Aug. 15, are found in Staatsarchiv (Vienna), xii: 61.

⁴⁶ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 20, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴⁷ Sept. 8, editorial.

⁴⁸ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., nos. 1709 and 1710.

⁴⁹ Persigny to Walewski, Aug. 21, Aff. Étr., Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 72.

⁵⁰ Apponyi to Buol, Sept. 8, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 59 A.

rupture; and when Stratford and Prokesch finally bestirred themselves, and the Porte announced to Thouvenel that the elections were annulled,⁵¹ the four ambassadors who had broken with the Porte resumed diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had the unpleasant task of extricating himself from the tangle which he had knowingly brought upon himself by reversing his position without consulting his allies. Clarendon had been not a little surprised that he had treated them as "satellites, submitted blindly to his will".⁵² Yet the evidence seems to show that even the dignity of a power may on occasions prove elastic; and Walewski's cryptic language had, at least, the merit of success. To St. Petersburg and Turin he wrote that France had not decided on a basis of organization for the principalities, as she had told Great Britain that she could not act without her allies, though she was ready, of course, to enter upon "reciprocal concessions".⁵³ Gorchakoff seemed a little puzzled at what was meant by "reciprocal concessions", but he was obliging enough not to ask embarrassing questions,⁵⁴ and Cavour, who was ready to follow Napoleon in anything, seems to have ignored the hoax completely. Only Prussia was slightly sullen at first, having been goaded, it seems, by Austrian gibes that France had wantonly let her down;⁵⁵ yet she, also, had cogent reasons for retaining Napoleon's friendship;⁵⁶ and the French ambassador was soon able to report that she, too, had pronounced her "satisfaction".⁵⁷ It is probably an evidence of the striking prestige which Napoleon III. enjoyed in Europe in 1857 that, in spite of the awkward diplomacy of his minister, France stood forth as the promoter of a common programme, the pivot, for the moment, of international politics, and, in a sense, the arbiter of Europe.⁵⁸

⁵¹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1720.

⁵² Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E. Benedetti, who was then director of political affairs in the department of foreign affairs at Paris, also remarked upon the *docilité* of these Powers, but concluded that they had been satisfied to see the other side fail of their point, and were anxious not to aggravate the present crisis. Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁵³ Walewski to Baudin, Aug. 19, *Aff. Étr.*, Russie, vol. 214, no. 60; Walewski to Gramont, Aug. 13, *ibid.*, Sardaigne, vol. 342, no. 29; similarly to Prussia in telegram to Belcastel, Aug. 13.

⁵⁴ Baudin to Walewski, Aug. 24, *ibid.*, Russie, vol. 215, no. 38.

⁵⁵ Belcastel to Walewski, Aug. 14, *ibid.*, Prusse, vol. 330, no. 6.

⁵⁶ It was Napoleon, who had been chiefly responsible for gratifying Prussia's wish to participate in the Congress of Paris and to be represented on the international commission in the principalities. He had also thrown his support to Prussia in a controversy with Switzerland in 1856 over Neuchâtel.

⁵⁷ Belcastel to Walewski, Aug. 22, *Aff. Étr.*, Prusse, vol. 330, no. 60.

⁵⁸ Napoleon may be said to have completed his triumph by an interview with his quondam enemy, the Tsar, at Stuttgart in September. There seems to be no

The Pact of Osborne was not a masterpiece of diplomacy, but it undoubtedly cleared the air, and, unlike the average compromise, it seemed to leave behind no angry feelings. As so often, however, when governments have wandered from the straight road, and have to find it again by groping, the agreement was not wholly creditable to either party. Great Britain, despite her earlier contention that the Powers should not prejudice the Rumanian question but wait until all the evidence was presented, had extorted, as the price of her willingness to allow a fair election in Moldavia, a basis of negotiation which might not accord either with the expressed wish of the principalities or with the report of the Commission. France, in order to procure immediate redress for the Moldo-Wallachians (perhaps, more accurately, in order to sustain a "point of honor") had bartered their ultimate fate, besides betraying the Powers which had previously followed her lead. Yet a compromise has frequently no importance beyond the attainment of an immediate object. Napoleon must have been shrewd enough to see that the question was not yet settled; and the conduct of France, when the international conference met in 1858, showed that the emperor meant to stretch the meaning of the Pact to allow as near an approximation to union as the Powers would then permit; more than that, he was plainly showing the Moldo-Wallachians that France was still the champion of their cause. "Nous tendons toujours vers le même but", Walewski had written on August 17, 1857; "mais nous avons toujours eu l'intention de nous prêter à des concessions, qui, en ajournant le succès, ne le rendront que plus certain".⁵⁹ Napoleon had really won the essential thing when he obtained a new election in Moldavia. The overwhelming sentiment of the principalities in favor of union must constitute a moral argument, to which the Powers, one and all, would eventually have to yield.⁶⁰

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archival evidence, however, to support the statement of Débidour (*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*, II. 172) that France, in return for a free hand in Italy, promised not to abandon the principalities. Débidour also wrongly places the interview in July.

⁵⁹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1704.

⁶⁰ It will be recalled that in 1859 the principalities brought about a personal union by both electing the same individual as hospodar, and that the Powers not only ratified this *fait accompli*, but subsequently allowed the complete fusion of the provinces.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE LIBERTY PARTY

IN a review of Theodore Clarke Smith's *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, about thirty years ago, the Honorable George W. Julian expressed the hope that a similar study might be made for the Middle States and New England.¹ The hope has been long deferred, and it may be doubted if such a study would at that time have been profitable. With the more recent interest in economic influences upon history, and, in particular, upon the history of events leading to the Civil War, the matter assumes a somewhat different aspect. Examined in the light of its economic background, the Liberty party takes on new interest. The process which brought the party into existence is better understood, the story of its struggle for recognition is considerably enlivened, and the reasons for its decline, if it may justly be said to have declined, are more clearly discerned when account is taken of the economic circumstances of the time.

The history of abolition, from the organization of the first of the great anti-slavery societies in 1833² to the formation of the Liberty party in 1840,³ is a story of simple procedure and of exalted ideals. There was much that was substantial and constructive in the activities of this period, and there was much that was impractical and visionary. It is the special merit of the abolitionists that they worked out, in the early 'thirties, the classical doctrines of the anti-slavery movement, doctrines usually associated with the political leaders of the last decade before the Civil War. Little remained to be added in later years to the view set out by William Goodell, in 1835. "The struggle is between the antagonistic principles of free and slave labor. They can not much longer coexist. One must prevail to the destruction of the other. The laborers of America will either be free or enslaved. The laborers at the south will be free, or the laborers at the north will lose their freedom. . . ."⁴

Distinctly less practical was the belief of the early abolitionists that to accomplish the emancipation of the slaves it was necessary only to awaken the religious sentiment of the South,⁵ or, as it was

¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IV. 180.

² American Anti-Slavery Society, organized in Philadelphia, December, 1833.

³ The date of the first Presidential campaign in which the party participated is taken for convenience.

⁴ From the *Emancipator* (Boston) of December, 1835.

⁵ *Philanthropist* (Cincinnati), Dec. 30, 1836, and Apr. 30, 1839.

sometimes less happily said, to bring the South up to the level of the North. Moral suasion was relied on as the best means of promoting the work. Carnal weapons were not to be employed, but only those which were spiritual and "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds".⁶ There was to be no party organization, no scramble for offices, no fight at the polls.⁷ The only form of political action endorsed by the early abolitionist was that of persuading men to right political action. Dependence for ultimate success was, in good abolitionist phrase, "mainly on the blessings of the Almighty".⁸

The later 'thirties witnessed important modifications in the programme of the abolitionists. Humanitarian interest in the effect of slavery upon the slave was not forgotten, but the effect of slavery upon the North became a matter of active concern. Anti-slavery men thought they saw in the South a combination of pro-slavery interests, which, with the aid of Northern politicians, dominated the national government. This aggressive force they called the slave power,⁹ later the slavocracy,¹⁰ and still later, marking commendable progress in invective, the cottonocracy. Abolitionists were presently to explain that they were driven from the high moral position which they at first occupied and were forced into politics by the aggressions of the slave power, aggressions which included, among other things, a movement toward the annexation of Texas and the maintenance of a policy "injurious to the interests of industry, to the stability of credit, and to the progress of improvement"¹¹ in the Northern states. The political force of the slave power was to be met by political force and not by moral suasion. In popular phrase moral suasion was to be expressed in the "terse rhetoric of the ballot box". Terse rhetoric was not the strong point of the abolitionist, but the phrase doubtless produced an agreeable impression upon his mind.

Abolitionists were not of one mind concerning the formation of a party, and the opposition of those who were averse to party strife was not lacking in vigor. It was perhaps inevitable that the advocates of political action should triumph, but they were aided in a marked

⁶ Report of the Committee on Political Action, Third Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, May 30, 1838, *Philanthropist*, June 12, 1838.

⁷ *The Voice of Freedom*, monthly continuation of the *Emancipator*, May, 1836.

⁸ *Philanthropist*, June 11, 1839.

⁹ The popular view of the slave power is well stated by C. S. Boucher, "In re that Aggressive Slavocracy", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VIII, 13-79.

¹⁰ Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *Philanthropist*, remarks, Feb. 11, 1840, "the word has lately come into use, among some of our friends . . .".

¹¹ Address of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, Albany, N. Y., July 31, 1839, in the *Philanthropist*, Sept. 17, 1839; similarly, the discussion in the Essex County, Mass., Liberty Convention, *Free American*, Sept. 2, 1841; and in numerous other conventions.

degree by the economic distress which spread over the country following the panic of 1837. Political abolitionists made effective use of "hard times" and labored zealously to fasten upon slavery the responsibility for them. Through the medium of speeches, editorials, tracts, resolutions of conventions, and published addresses to voters they repeated, with infinite variations, the story of the wrongs visited by a spendthrift, slaveholding South upon a frugal, industrious, and unsuspecting free-labor North. The propaganda was conducted with energy, and aside from the immediate effect of convincing the impractical and irresolute that a party was necessary, it was destined to have a distinct effect upon the aim and spirit of the abolition movement itself.

The fourth annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in New York City, May 9, 1837, was the first of the annual meetings to take account of the economic distress in the North and to fix the responsibility upon slavery. "The commercial world", said the annual report of the executive committee, "is now passing into one of those collapses which never fail to succeed an overblown system of credit. The scramble for wealth has probably been rendered more than usually ardent and headlong by the general peace which has existed since the last great man-tiger was caged at Waterloo." The South had plunged heavily in the production of cotton, and "Northern merchants, anxious to partake the rich plunder", had "offered their aid to the whip-wielding power". "They have furnished their capital for the extension of slave labor, and have been permitted to reap great profit from the carrying trade. Madly hastening to be richer, they have outbid each other in long credits, to secure Southern custom, till the South, like all well-trusted and prodigal customers, has squandered her own means and theirs, and they are left in the lurch." The South had sought in the last few years "to help her failing fortunes by the necromancy of banking", and had "thus set her slave system into the most feverish and fearful activity. In the State of Mississippi alone, the bank circulation is said to be not less than \$60,000,000, while the paid capital is but \$10,000,000, and the specie but \$2,000,000. . . . But with all this abundance of money, the State is mortgaged to Northern merchants, who have advanced for crops that are yet to be planted. The same state of things exists, in a greater or less degree, through the whole cotton-growing South".¹² Northern merchants must have found the report cheerless as to prospect of collection.

¹² *Fourth Annual Report* of the American Anti-Slavery Society (New York, 1837), pp. 50-51. The statements agree in the main with Alexander Trotter, *Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of such of the States of the*

Slavery is the rule of violence and arbitrary will, and not of reason or law. It would be quite in character both with its theory and practice, as exhibited at the South, if the slave-drivers should refuse to pay their debts, and meet the sheriff with dirk and pistol. In a country where hanging without trial is justified by the highest authority—the body of the people—it is hardly to be expected that the sacredness of contracts can be very deeply felt. Should Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, subject the claims of our merchants to their favorite “Lynch law”, it will have the good effect, at least, to cool their ardor in the defence of “the peculiar institutions of the South”.¹³

The report obviously reflects as much prejudice as scientific analysis, but its conclusions are unmistakable—money had been lost, the slave system was responsible, and the prospect of recovering anything was poor. Birney, with characteristic reasonableness, selected for the *Philanthropist* this motto: “We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.” The spiritual distress of 1836 was rapidly giving place to another kind. The new kind was borne with less equanimity.

At the seventh annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in May, 1840, the connection between slavery and “hard times” was an accepted fact. It was assumed that: “Slavery must be destroyed, or the agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing and commercial interests of the country must perish.” The society resolved: “That the existence of Slavery is the grand cause of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country; and that no real or permanent relief is to be expected by the establishment of a national bank or sub-treasury, until the total abolition of that execrable system.” The annual report of the executive committee found some consolation in the fact that: “The hard times, which have so deeply embarrassed the Committee, have yet been doing our work, by compelling a reluctant people to look at the commercial and political bearing of slavery.”¹⁴ Merchants and bankers still under the spell of Southern trade and politicians dependent on Southern support might assign other reasons for the distress into which the industrial centres and farming areas had fallen, but the abolitionists were satisfied with their own analysis. In the language of Elizur Wright, “the industrious north had trusted the slack-twisted financial honor of the south, and it failed”.¹⁵ This theme promised to be more useful than the

North American Union as Have Contracted Public Debts (London, 1839), pp. 305–312, 322–332; and with William M. Gouge, *The Fiscal History of Texas* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 66.

¹³ *Fourth Annual Report* of the Am. Anti-Slavery Soc., p. 52.

¹⁴ *Seventh Annual Report* of the Am. Anti-Slavery Soc. (New York, 1840), pp. 13–14, 53.

¹⁵ Elizur Wright, *Myron Holley; and What He Did for Liberty and True Religion* (Boston, 1882), p. 300.

wrongs of the slave or even the menace to the personal liberties of the freemen of the North.

One of the most widely circulated and most influential documents employed by political abolitionists in their effort to form a party was an address on the "Financial Power of Slavery", written by Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Emancipator*, and one of the ablest of abolitionists. This paper is described by the author as, "the substance of some remarks made at different times and places during a late tour in Ohio". Leavitt had become convinced that an abolition party was necessary, and his tour in Ohio, in 1840, was a part of his untiring effort to popularize the idea that resistance to slavery must come to the ballot box. His remarks appear to have been grouped under two main headings, the "Political Power of Slavery" and the "Financial Power of Slavery". In the first of these he set out, with abundant illustration, the already accepted view of a slave power dominant in Congress and in other branches of the national government. The "Financial Power of Slavery" dealt with the less well-recognized influence of slavery upon the material prosperity of the Northern states. Brief quotations only can be made.¹⁶

Go among the merchants or the manufacturers, and you will find one complaining of his ten thousand, and another of his hundred thousand, and another of his two or five hundred thousand dollars of southern debts. He would get along very well now, if it were not for that southern debt. And behind every one of these stands another class, who have sold goods, or lent money, or given their endorsement to others that have trusted their all to the South, and now cannot pay. And behind these another class, and another, and another, until there is hardly a remote hamlet in the free States that has not been directly or indirectly drained of its available capital by the southern debt.

The capital of the North as naturally flows to the South as water runs down hill. . . . Eighty years ago, a great statesman, in the British Parliament, laid it down as an axiom in political economy, that planters are always in debt. The system of society in a slave holding community is such as to lead to the contraction of debt, which the system itself does not furnish the means of paying, and which must, therefore, be wiped off by periodical bankruptcies. The ill economy of slave labor is seen in a thousand particulars, the wastefulness of the slaves is exceeded only by the extravagance of the masters, while the social *rank* (!) which is generally conceded to him who exercises power over his fellow-men, is a passport to credit. . . . The sense of obligation to pay debts is essentially different between people who always live on the earnings of the poor, and those who have nothing but what they have earned by their own industry. The effect is, that in our commercial revulsions, there is a general calculation that the bulk of indebtedness from the free States will be paid, and that the bulk of the slave debt will be lost. The free

¹⁶ Quotations from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841.

expect to pay their debts, if it takes years of toil and self-denial; the slave holder likes to pay debts if it is convenient, but to work and save to pay an old debt enters not into his thoughts.

Two things were necessary, in Leavitt's opinion, for, "the deliverance of the free industry of the North from this intolerable burthen, of supporting slavery and enduring these perilous revulsions and bankruptcies". One was "to develop the true nature of slavery, as an element of our domestic fiscal economy, so that our merchants and manufacturers will understand the danger of carrying on a southern trade". The other was to offer "direct resistance to the political domination of the Slave Power". Leavitt thought both commerce and slavery were intimately mixed with politics, and that political influence tended to maintain the commercial delusion that the South was the source of wealth and that Southern trade was indispensable. His conclusion was: "We shall never get the commercial community to read or to think on the subject, until the question can be made to present itself at the ballot box, and the opposers of slavery become the arbiters of destiny to political aspirants." Then only would the general government be emancipated from the control of slavery, and then only would such new fields of business be opened as would divert the Northern merchant and manufacturer from excessive attention to Southern trade.

The "Financial Power of Slavery" is an excellent example of the economic reasoning that gave the abolition movement a new orientation and contributed to the formation of the Liberty party. It is not necessary to discuss, here, the soundness of Leavitt's conclusions. Soundness and fairness may be secondary considerations in the field of propaganda; and it may be assumed that Northern readers were willing to believe that slaveholders, along with their other obliquities, were capable of absorbing the hard earnings of free labor. More important for the immediate purpose is the extent to which the address was circulated. It was printed first in the *Emancipator*, the most influential of the abolition newspapers before the establishment of the *National Era*. It was printed twice in the *Philanthropist*,¹⁷ the leading abolition newspaper west of the mountains. It was printed, in part, in the *Emancipator and Free American*, the organ of the Massachusetts Abolition Society.¹⁸ It appeared in the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the official publication of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was also widely circulated as a tract. The editor of the *Philanthropist* stated, in May, 1841, that in the previous week he had sent out over 2500 copies of

¹⁷ Dec. 30, 1840, Apr. 21, 1841.

¹⁸ Jan. 13, 1842.

the address, and that since the preceding November he had circulated some 14,000 copies.¹⁹ It was extensively distributed as a tract in the Eastern states.

The influence of the address is observable in numerous conventions held during the years 1840, 1841. Leavitt addressed the state convention of abolitionists at Hamilton, Ohio, in September, 1840. "His remarks on the connection of slavery with the financial embarrassments of the country", said Gamaliel Bailey, the able editor of the *Philanthropist*, "cannot be forgotten."²⁰ Bailey had strongly opposed the formation of a party, but his conversion appears to have been instantaneous. Conventions in Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, and even in distant Maine, adopted resolutions concerning the financial power of slavery, a power that appeared to extract money from guileless Northern merchants and bankers with comparative ease.²¹ In no place were the views of Leavitt more concretely expressed or given more specific application than in the sparkling address to the electors of Massachusetts in the summer of 1841.²²

If there are any who do not feel the force of these considerations, for under this slaveholding government it has become monstrously unfashionable to feel it, to them we say *interest*—the mighty power of *dollars*—dictates the same course. Slavery takes value out of the pockets of the free, as well as out of the sinews of the enslaved, without rendering an equivalent. It is a vampire which is drinking up the life blood of free industry. What has swallowed up the manufactures of the North and the provisions of the West, the products of years of economical, self-denying, heaven-blessed industry—and left us little besides our empty hands? The extravagant luxury of the slaveholding South, which consumes faster than it pays. . . . The South is supposed by those who have the best means of knowing, to have taken from the North, within five years, more than \$100,000,000, by notes which will never be paid. First and last, northern industry has lost by southern debts more than has been expended on two wars with Great Britain. This is the effect of no other cause than slavery. Were the slaves free, they would receive wages, which they would expend partly for northern cloth, hats and shoes; their masters would be obliged to practice economy; and both classes would afford us steady and prompt paying customers. . . . Slavery has been the prime cause of all the financial tornadoes which have swept over our country, and what it has done it will continue to do. It is a bottomless gulf of extravagance and thriftlessness.

¹⁹ *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841, p. 2, quoting the *Philanthropist* of May 26, 1841.

²⁰ *Philanthropist*, Sept. 8, 1840. Instances could be multiplied of the acceptance of these views by abolitionist leaders.

²¹ Northern Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, Akron, Dec. 23, 24, 1840; State Anti-Slavery Convention, Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 20, 1841; State Liberty Party Convention of Massachusetts, Feb. 24, 1841; and many other anti-slavery and Liberty party conventions in East and West.

²² *Free American*, Aug. 19, 1841.

Abolitionists were not satisfied with showing that the North suffered from the inability of slavery to pay for itself and from the consequent drain upon Northern capital. Useful as this contention may have been in winning support for an abolition party, it did not cover the entire ground. They next undertook to show that the political power of slavery was employed to the advantage of Southern economic interests and to the disadvantage of manufacture and agriculture in the Northern states. This latter undertaking was a part of the work of the Liberty party.

The state Liberty party convention of Massachusetts, which met in February, 1841, formulated what might be regarded as the economic programme of the party. In a set of resolutions concerning the "Power of Slavery", the convention dealt with "the frequent derangement of the business of the country", and the "immense annual loss to the pecuniary interests of the free States", through the exercise by the slave power of an "undivided sway over the finances, legislation, judiciary, diplomacy, and general executive administration of our government". Other resolutions were debated, and were referred, without an expression of opinion, to the national convention to meet in New York City the following May. These resolutions had to do with the corn laws, with emigration from foreign countries, with home manufactures and tariff, with the banking system, with cotton manufactures, with reciprocity in trade, and with economy in expenditures.²³

The national Liberty convention, May 12-13, 1841, took full account of these resolutions, and its "Address to the Citizens of the United States" bears their impress.²⁴ The address, signed by Alvan Stewart, but written by William Goodell, is a model of political appeal. What should be the attitude of a party founded primarily to abolish slavery toward those "other great interests" which are commonly supposed to have no connection with the principles of human rights? The answer was that the Liberty party had as its paramount object human freedom, and that in respect to those other interests it was impossible to say what might be done, but it could be said that there were certain things a thoroughly abolitionized national administration would not do.

It would not busy itself perpetually with expedients to enhance the price of the products of slave labor, and to open markets for them in all parts of the known world, while it studiously avoided doing any thing to procure a market for the free products of the grain growing Northwest. It would not long remain silent or inactive, in its diplomatic relations, in respect to the iniquitous corn laws of Great Britain, by which the poor

²³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1841.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1841.

in one nation are made victims of the lordly rapacity of those who should protect them, and by which the free agriculturalists of another and a kindred nation are debarred from using the natural market for their products.

In adjusting the details of a tariff of duties on imports, it would not carefully tax the free laborer and exempt the planter who lives upon the labor of others. It would not shut out foreign grown cotton from the manufacturers of the free North, while it exempted foreign manufactured goods from taxation, for the benefit of the slaveholding consumer.

It would not solicitously seek, as an object of great public concernment and utility, either by the aid of a sub-treasury, a national bank, or any other instrumentality or institution devised for that purpose, an artificial and forced "*equalization of exchanges*" between the free laboring North and the spendthrift, dependent, and poverty-stricken South, whereby the latter may be relieved from the disadvantages of their condition by the manifest and gross robbery of the former.

It is evident from these declarations—they can hardly be called planks of a party platform—that the Liberty party did not promise a protective policy. Hard times might have suggested the simple expedient of higher duties, but political prudence forbade a positive declaration concerning so divisive an issue. Liberty men seemed, moreover, to understand that the appearance in the Northwest of a huge agricultural surplus foreshadowed the end of the American system, and that any policy was shortsighted which did not aim at securing for agriculture the markets of the world.²⁵ It was in harmony, also, with the purpose of the party to emphasize what was conceived to be the underlying cause of the distress. "These classes of measures", protection or free trade, banks or sub-treasuries, said the address, "lie manifestly only on the surface; they are the mere forms of public wealth; and although there may be room for an intelligent choice between them, yet no impartial and reflecting economist or statesman can claim for either of them any thing more than comparative utility and minor importance. But the question of free or slave labor is a question vital to the prosperity of any people, lying at the very basis of individual and national wealth."²⁶ While the Liberty

²⁵ Demands of Liberty men for a protective tariff appear to have been confined, at this time, to a small area in southeastern Indiana, where Arnold Buffum was influential. There was an occasional resolution by a convention, asking for a duty on beet sugar and even on silk. Charles T. Torrey, writing on the policy of the Liberty party, and with the approval of the editor of the *Free American*, urged that the Liberty party "cast away all tariffs". *Free American*, Oct. 7, 1841. See also F. W. Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States*, fifth ed., p. 113; Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 12, 1843.

²⁶ In the same vein, and with evident misconception of the way things go in politics, Judge Nye said to the Free Soil Convention of 1848: "If we are wrong on the Tariff, it can be righted in twelve hours. If we are wrong on Banks, it can be righted by legislation. But if we are wrong on the subject of Slavery, it never

men had nothing constructive to offer, they dealt savagely with what they conceived to be the misuse of the tariff by the slave power. They asserted, among other things, that pro-slavery interests created the tariff of 1816 for their own purposes, and at a later time destroyed the protective system, "at the hazard, if not with the intention" of breaking up the manufacturing interest of the free states. This lively version of tariff history leaves a good deal to be desired, but it was highly acceptable to abolitionists.²⁷

Of interest for the student of economic influences upon politics is that part of the address which discusses the partiality shown for the great Southern staples to the detriment of the agricultural products of the free states. The best summary of the matter is found in an exchange of letters between Joshua Leavitt and Stafford Allen.²⁸ Allen was a member of a committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to examine the bearing of the corn laws on the question of American slavery. The particular form of the inquiry was whether benefit might not accrue to the cause of abolition "from England taking the free produce of the Northern States, instead of confining her imports to the slave-grown products of the South". Abolitionists sometimes appeared to overlook the fact that trade was more likely to arrange itself than to be arranged by an abolition society, but the correspondence, supplemented by other literature of the time, discloses the essentials of a problem that was to remain vexatious for some years to come. The Northwestern states were, by 1839, suffering from the production of a surplus of wheat which could not be marketed abroad because of the corn laws. Nothing was done, nothing could be done to solve this most difficult of agricultural problems, the problem of an unmarketable surplus. Retaliatory tariffs were demanded in some quarters as a method of forcing Great Britain to abate the restrictions of the corn laws. The wisdom of retaliatory measures was doubted, and furthermore it was hardly probable that such measures would be supported by the South when East Indian cotton was threatening to compete in English markets with the American slave-grown staple. The Liberty party was not slow to capitalize the distress of the great agricultural Northwest. The Eastern

can be righted." Oliver Dyer's *Phonographic Report of the Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., August 9th and 10th, 1848*, p. 4.

²⁷ For exactly the opposite view, see T. P. Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* (New York, 1860), pp. 161-163.

²⁸ Correspondence between Joshua Leavitt and Stafford Allen, printed in the *Philanthropist*, Nov. 24, 1841. See also memorial of Joshua Leavitt praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat. 26 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Doc.* 222.

abolitionist press kept pace with the newspapers of the wheat-growing states in denouncing the neglect of free state agricultural interests by the slave power. It was charged that the national government, controlled by slaveholders, not only did nothing to improve the situation but that it did all it could to perpetuate it, and thus compel the free states to sell in Southern markets, and on credit.²⁹ If the argument appears in this day to be inconclusive, it must be remembered that it enjoyed the unique advantage of being addressed to persons who intended to believe it.

The subsequent history of the effort of the Liberty party to popularize the economic features of its programme is best told in connection with Salmon P. Chase and his authorship of many of the formal resolutions and published addresses of the party. In the Hamilton County, Ohio, Anti-Slavery Convention of May 12, 1841, Chase discussed for the first time, publicly, the bearings of slavery upon the economic welfare of the North. "He adverted", says the report of his speech before the convention, "to the pecuniary losses sustained by the State of Ohio and especially by the county of Hamilton in consequence of the existence of slavery in those states which are the natural markets of our produce and manufactures." From another source we learn of careful calculations made by Chase to ascertain the amount lost annually by the counties of Hamilton, Clermont, and Brown, three river counties adjacent to Cincinnati, through the inability of Southern planters and merchants to pay for produce and merchandise sold to them on credit.³⁰

The Liberty convention of the state of Ohio which met in Columbus, December 29, 1841, was the next scene of Chase's activity, and it was there that he became the real spokesman for the party in the West. The convention was heralded as a highly important one. "From it will date the commencement of the attempt at a general political anti-slavery organization for the state. How vital, that a right character be impressed upon it in its inception."³¹ The resolutions adopted by the convention and the address to the people of Ohio, the work of Chase, were marked by emphasis upon the necessity for a thorough denationalization of slavery, by an explicit disavowal of intention to interfere with slavery in the states, and by an elaborate statement of the economic grievances under which the North labored.

²⁹ Charles T. Torrey, in *Free American*, Sept. 30, 1841; *Cincinnati Morning Herald*, Oct. 7, 1843. The non-abolitionist press gave much attention to the corn laws. It did not connect slavery with the distress in the agricultural Northwest.

³⁰ *Philanthropist*, May 19, 1841; *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841, p. 6.

³¹ *Philanthropist*, Dec. 1, 1841.

Emphasis was laid upon the partiality in diplomatic negotiations which resulted, according to the address, in the admission of the products of slave labor, cotton, tobacco, and rice, and the exclusion of the products of free labor in nearly all foreign markets.³² Other economic matters dealt with were the fickleness of the slave power in tariff-making, the gross discrimination in favor of the Southern states in the distribution of the surplus, and the demand of the South for agricultural and manufactured products, and for money and merchandise, beyond its means to repay. Birney observed that in no anti-slavery convention in his memory had the opposition to slavery been "considered so much as a matter of money-policy—so little as a matter of religious duty, as it was in this". He added: "Whilst the money-policy may be made to follow as close as is possible on religious duty, the latter in my opinion ought always to be allowed the precedence."³³ Birney held to the faith of earlier days, and he doubtless felt that abolitionists had complied too fully with the requirement of John Quincy Adams that they "come down from the empyrean of their fancy to the vapory atmosphere of this nether world".³⁴

At the national Liberty convention, held in Buffalo, August 30, 1843, Chase reported, from the business committee, a series of resolutions which, with additions by other delegates, became the best-known platform of the Liberty party. The "withering and impoverishing" effect of slavery on the free states was not forgotten, and the federal government was pictured as plying every art and straining "every effort of negotiation" in favor of the products of slave labor while the products of free labor were confined to a great extent "to the non-paying markets of the slave States".³⁵ The charges were repeated in the "Address of the Southern and Western Liberty Con-

³² "By persevering and well directed efforts England, France, Austria and Russia have been induced to remove all onerous duties on cotton, and, in and through those countries this product finds an open access to all the markets of Europe. France reduced her duties in 1831, and since that period the export of cotton to and through that country has increased from two and a half to thirteen and a half millions of dollars. Similar efforts have been made in behalf of tobacco and rice, also, for the most part, products of slave states." *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1842.

³³ J. G. Birney to Salmon P. Chase, Feb. 2, 1842. Chase Papers, no. 1158. Library of Congress.

³⁴ John Quincy Adams to a gentleman in Brooklyn, quoted in the *Philanthropist*, Apr. 21, 1840.

³⁵ Printed in full in the Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 25, 1843. E. Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections* (Boston, 1884), pp. 151-154, prints twenty-one of the resolutions, selected according to some method that is not apparent. He omits all that deal with economic matters.

vention", in Cincinnati, in June, 1845,³⁶ but by this time the economic conditions which had brought them into use were rapidly disappearing. The newspapers of both major parties agreed that business was steadily reviving, and that the entire country was recovering from its reverses. There was an influx of buyers from the South, and Northern merchants were already showing signs of returning to the loose practices which had brought disaster five years before.³⁷ The Northwest, to which leadership of the Liberty party had noticeably drifted, shared in the return of prosperity. The story of the coming of better times was admirably and briefly told by an Ohio legislator. "I see that all things go on pretty well if the Banks have some of them breathed their last pork is raising steadily in price I observe."³⁸ The farmers were said to be the gainers by the modification of the corn laws already conceded by the British government, and provisions were moving eastward by lake and canal in greatly increased quantity.³⁹ Webster informed an audience at Rochester that within a few months a new and great change had been produced in our intercourse with England. Cargoes of lard, butter, cheese, beef, pork, and other articles were being shipped to England every day. "This is quite a new trade as everybody knows. Who ever thought, eighteen months ago, that a large cargo, entirely of provisions, would go to a London market!" Webster showed that he was well aware of the belief in the North that Southern export staples enjoyed the special care of the federal government, and was obviously relieved to be able to point to returning prosperity in the Northern states.⁴⁰ It is hardly necessary to suggest that the revival of business lessened the political usefulness of arguments addressed to the hard times of 1837-1842. Such arguments might be carried along for a time as reasons for the existence of the Liberty party, but, by 1845, their value was practically

³⁶ The address was printed with extensive notes by C. D. Cleveland, and in this form was widely circulated. Cleveland's notes are an excellent summary of the economic grievances emphasized by the Liberty party from the beginning. The Address of the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania to the People of the State, 1844, by C. D. Cleveland, has much to say about "The Slave Power the Chief Cause of Our Financial Embarrassments; or, in Plainer Words, of 'Hard Times'". Both addresses appear in *Anti-Slavery Addresses of 1844 and 1845*, by Salmon Portland Chase and Charles Dexter Cleveland (London, 1867).

³⁷ Albany *Evening Journal*, Sept. 13, 1843; New York *Evening Post* (for the country), Sept. 13, 1843; Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 16, 1843.

³⁸ Gid M. Ayres to Salmon P. Chase, Jan. 21, 1843. Chase Papers, no. 1339.

³⁹ Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 1, 15, 1843. A comparison of the tariff of 1833, 3 and 4 William IV. c. 56, with the tariff of 1842, 5 and 6 Vic. c. 47, shows substantial reductions in duties on provisions. *Customs Tariffs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897* (London, 1897), pp. 569-716.

⁴⁰ New York *American*, Sept. 28, 1843; New York *Sun*, quoted in Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Nov. 24, 1843.

extinguished. The Mexican War presently directed attention to a startling political aggression of the slave power, as the abolitionists interpreted it, and less spectacular influences of slavery upon the economic life of the North were for the time forgotten.

This brief account of a phase of abolitionist propaganda is designed merely to supplement what has been written about the Liberty party, and to suggest some of the things that a complete history of the party may well include.⁴¹ It does not assume to answer the questions that arise concerning the merits of the charges made by the political abolitionists. The exact measure of truth in the assertion that the national government, controlled by slaveholders and their allies, displayed a partiality for Southern economic interests is a matter for separate inquiry. Least of all does it attempt to indicate the precise results of the propaganda. That it aided in the formation of the Liberty party can not be doubted. That it tended to secularize the abolition movement is likewise beyond question. Abolitionists continued to refer to their cause as a religious enterprise, but the establishment of a party and the emphasis upon material interests could not fail to effect a change in the character of the abolition movement. This change is well summarized by an abolitionist of the old school.⁴²

The basis of Abolition is the wrongs of the negro through slavery. Abolition incidentally considered the encroachments of slavery on the rights of the white man, but his wrongs are not the real cause of action. Abolition is charitable—is philanthropic. . . . The Liberty Party proceeds on another, a more selfish principle. It views slavery chiefly as it affects the white man. The power which puts it in motion is self-interest. It may prefer that the condition of the slave should be bettered but it stirs not for him. . . .

The baneful influence of slavery upon the currency, upon our commercial interests, upon manufactures, upon the power of the country to defend itself against foreign aggression—its war upon free labor and the respectability of industry—its seizing on the offices and the government of the country—its unequal distribution of the public funds—its gags, mobs, and murders—its robbery of the North by bankruptcy. . . . These and a thousand other like topics are the proper subjects for the consideration of the Liberty party, but they all centre in the welfare of the white man.

With secularization went, almost as a matter of course, the development of more moderate anti-slavery doctrines. As early as 1842, complaint was made that, "the old school books, full of scorching denunciations of slavery, have been banished from our schools . . .".⁴³

⁴¹ The useful monograph by Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, is by its title restricted in scope. It is exclusively political. A dissertation on the Liberty party in New York and Massachusetts is in progress in Cornell University.

⁴² *Philanthropist*, May 11, 1842.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1842.

This softening of public opinion may be traced to many causes, but some of it was unquestionably due to the compromises that a party must make with principle. The Liberty party might continue to insist that its paramount object was human freedom, but the fact remained that its activities were chiefly directed against the slave power as a political and economic force, and not against the existence of slavery in the states. The separation of the national government from slavery was, politically, an attainable end, while emancipation was not. The Liberty men thus steadily departed from the radical abolitionist views of earlier years and as steadily approached the Free Soil position of 1848. When they eventually saw themselves supplanted by the Free Soilers with a defensive programme of denationalization of slavery and the prevention of its further extension, with no word of encouragement for the slave,⁴⁴ they may well have accepted some responsibility for the change that had come over the abolition movement. They had elected to rest their case upon material considerations, and they must have observed, as politicians, if not as humanitarians, that with the "raising" of the price of pork "liberty" had appreciably declined.

JULIAN P. BRETZ.

⁴⁴ "No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections." Gerrit Smith to Chairman of the Jerry Rescue Committee, Aug. 27, 1859, O. B. Frothingham's *Gerrit Smith, a Biography* (New York, 1879), p. 244.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL CONGRESS AT OSLO

For full appreciation of the success and value of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at the old capital of Norway on August 14-18, 1928, some brief outline of the previous development of these congresses is almost requisite. An international gathering of students of diplomatic history at the Hague in 1898 led to the convening of the first international historical congress at Paris in 1900. The second was held at Rome in 1903, the third at Berlin in 1908, the fourth at London in 1913.¹ The five-year period seemed then to be established, and, on invitation from the Russian emperor, it was voted at the conclusion of the London congress that the next such gathering should be held at St. Petersburg in the spring of 1918. Before that date, the world had become enveloped in the flames of war, international congresses had become impossible, the chairman of the Russian organizing committee had died of starvation, and all machinery for renewing such meetings had gone out of existence. When ten years had nearly passed, instead of five, the Belgian historical scholars, at the suggestion of those of Great Britain where the last congress had been held, revived the series by organizing the Brussels congress of 1923.²

Completely international the Brussels congress could not well be. It was too soon after the war to expect that the Belgian committee should invite the Germans and Austrians to participate. But what could be done was done; namely, such action was taken—and it is a pleasure to remember how effectively the American representatives fortified those liberal spirits that were resolved to take it—as would ensure that the next ensuing congress should be in the fullest sense international. It was agreed that it should be held in one of the European countries that had been neutral during the World War, and before long the invitation received from Norway and the University of Oslo was accepted, and the undertaking was placed in hands in whose fairness, sincerity, and internationalmindedness all parties alike had full confidence.

The Brussels congress was marked off from its London predecessor not only by the exceptional interval of ten years, but by the in-

¹ The third congress was described by Professor Haskins in this journal, XIV. 1-8, the fourth by the present writer, *ibid.*, XVIII. 679-691.

² Described by Mr. Leland, *ibid.*, XXI. 639-655.

auguration of a new and improved system, in the promotion of which it is again pleasant to remember that the Americans had their part. All previous congresses had expired with the reading of the last paper. If it was desired that they should effect something more than paper-reading, and if proposals were made looking toward the undertaking of some of those tasks that can not be achieved but by international coöperation, there was neither time nor machinery for their due consideration. At Brussels it was resolved that a continuing committee should be constituted, that could act between congresses, in preparation for ensuing congresses, and in pursuance of the action of congresses preceding. Before long the International Committee of Historical Sciences was constituted, on a permanent basis, with members from almost all the important countries, Germany and Austria included, and it forthwith began to function in a variety of fruitful ways, and in a spirit of loyal and harmonious coöperation.

Several branches of the International Committee's action may ultimately call for notice in such a record as that which is now attempted, but for the present it may suffice to mention those concerned with the organization of the congress of 1928. Of these perhaps the chief was the choice of Professor Halvdan Koht, of the University of Oslo, already chairman of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, as president of the congress and chairman of its organizing committee. To his energy, sound judgment, linguistic and other resourcefulness, and just and friendly spirit the congress was in large measure indebted for its success. Equally fortunate was the choice of Dr. Haakon Vigander, efficient, tireless, amiable, and accomplished, as secretary of the committee of arrangements. No one could fail to admire the excellence of the material arrangements—the early diffusion of abundant information, the clear local directions, the provision of adequate spaces for sessions and conferences, for writing and conversation, likewise the efficiency, intelligence, and skill in languages of the students, young men and young women, who met the needs of the visitors in the rooms of registration and elsewhere, and the smooth running both of the scientific sessions and of the hospitable entertainments and varied excursions.

A word of praise should also be given to the International Committee for its even-handed apportionment of those favors of position, precedence, and prominence whose proper distribution among national groups is in European circles so attentively regarded, and for its efforts, through the national committees, to exercise a restraining or supervisory influence upon the composition of the programme.

There could be no doubt that the present assemblage was truly ecumenical. In the printed list of more than a thousand members

forty nations were represented. Naturally the Norwegians were the most numerous; more than two hundred citizens of Oslo had enrolled themselves as members in support of the undertaking. Even if from the lists of foreigners one should omit the names of those who did not actually attend, and of historians' wives and sons and daughters not themselves occupied with history, still there were apparently five or six hundred professional votaries of history present from other lands than Norway. The largest number came from France—a hundred in all. From Germany came an almost equal number, from Germany plus Austria a number quite equal. Three-score more came from Denmark and Sweden and the minor Baltic countries, forty or so from Great Britain and Ireland, a similar number from Poland, thirty from Italy, thirty from the southeastern countries of Europe, twenty-four from the United States, and lesser numbers, a dozen or so each, from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland. There were representatives, even, from countries as remote as Iceland and Chili, South Africa and Japan.

It was somewhat an evil, detracting a little from the disinterested pursuit of purely scientific ends, that the scholars of some countries thought it necessary to organize rather closely as national delegations. Surely it is more appropriate, on such an occasion, to regard the interests of history rather than those of any nation. The cause of the tendency alluded to lies partly in the practice of inviting governments to send official representatives. To the American mind it is not apparent that governments, as such, should be represented in an historical congress. At all events the Americans, and apparently also the British and the Scandinavians, saw no useful ends to be gained by organizing in a national phalanx.

Three hundred and fifty-odd papers were listed in the programme—far too many, by the way, for many were on subjects in which few but their authors could be expected to be interested, or which would have been more appropriate to a national meeting of historical scholars, in the writer's own country, than to an international assemblage. No small part of the excess seemed to an American eye to be due to those unchastened political ambitions of European national groups which, however natural, ought to be reduced to a minimum when the purpose of the occasion is to make successful to the utmost a joint endeavor, in one important field, toward international unity. Eighty papers from France, for example, forty-two from Poland, eleven from Rumania, seemed a disproportionate number. The modesty of our Norwegian hosts, who, regardless of their advantages of position,

confined themselves to little more than a score of contributions, was, like all other items of their management, much to be admired.

The regulations of international historical congresses provide that papers may be read in either one of five languages—French, German, English, Italian, and Spanish. On the present occasion, somewhat more than half the papers (according to the programme 183) were written in French. Nearly half of these, however, were presented by members coming from other lands than France and Belgium—forty-two of them by Poles, ten by Rumanians, nine by Norwegians, and so on. Somewhat more than a fourth of the papers (93 according to the programme) were written in German, either by Germans or Austrians or by members whose national speech was one of the less familiar languages. Fifty-four were presented in English, by Britons or Americans or Scandinavians; the Egyptian and the Icelander also read in English. Eighteen Italian papers and one Rumanian were read in Italian, and two papers were presented in Spanish, one by a Spaniard, one from a scholar from Uruguay.

Although it was plain that the Norwegian portion of the various audiences followed addresses equally well in English or French or German, it seemed that, among European scholars in general, facility in the use or understanding of these three languages ran in about the proportions indicated by the figures given above. But the American observer could not fail to be struck by the number of scholars who could follow all three languages alike, and in general to be impressed by the superior results which, not unnaturally to be sure, have been secured by the teaching of modern languages on the continent of Europe, as compared with the teaching of them in the United States.³

Obviously it would be vain to attempt to give any full notion of the mass of learning poured forth in these numerous papers. No one could or did hear more than a small fraction of the total, for the congress was, like its predecessors, organized in sections, by subject, and the reading of contributions went on simultaneously in many different halls of the University of Oslo. There were fourteen of these sections, devoted respectively to the auxiliary sciences and archival or bibliographical matters; to the prehistoric and archaeological field; to ancient history; to that of the Middle Ages; to that of modern

³ Yet it must be confessed that not a few gentlemen of great learning and intelligence seemed unaware that, if they wished to be understood in what to most of their audience was a foreign tongue, it was expedient to speak slowly and clearly; and, to hide in a foot-note one bit more of faultfinding, there were those who ignored the limitation of papers to thirty minutes quite as completely as, at our own meetings, the limit of twenty minutes is ignored by the less considerate (or more earnest and determined) members of the American Historical Association.

Europe; to that of America, the Far East, and European colonial expansion; to that of religion; to that of law and institutions; to economic and social history; to that of science and literature; to that of art; to historical methodology; to the teaching of history; and to the special history of the Scandinavian nations. There were only two general meetings: one held in the chief hall of the university, on the first forenoon, when, in the presence of the King of Norway and all the delegates, Professor Halvdan Koht of Oslo, the accomplished president of the congress, after an address of welcome by the rector of the university, inaugurated the sessions; the other, held on the last forenoon.

In these general sessions, there was a discourse by Monseigneur Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, on the religious psychology of Louis XIV.; an admirable one by Professor Karl Brandi of Göttingen, on Charles V. and the governing of a world empire; a brilliant informal address by Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, in defense of his published views on the relation between the early expansion of Islam and the beginning of the Middle Ages; and an important paper by Professor Alfons Dopsch of Vienna, on "Naturalwirtschaft und Geldwirtschaft in der Weltgeschichte".

Perhaps some notion of the character and variety of the contributions may be given by the mere mention of some that stood out as especially important or interesting, such as those of De Sanctis of Turin on the historical importance of the inscriptions recently discovered in Cyrene or of Rostovtzeff of Yale on the last year's excavations at Dura-Europos; that of Kornemann of Breslau on Rome and Italy in the first century of the republic; that of Fliche of Montpellier on the international rôle of the Papacy in the Middle Ages; that of Sudhoff of Leipzig on early Medieval instruction in medicine; that of Gräbmann of Munich on the Emperor Frederick II. and his relation to Aristotelian Arabian philosophy; that of Prentout of Caen on the French provincial estates; that of Nörlund of Copenhagen on the Medieval Norsemen in Greenland in the light of the recent remarkable Danish excavations; that of Westergaard of California on the relations between Scandinavia and Russia in the fifteenth century; that of Bauer of Münster on the genesis of the Wittenberg Reformation; that of Hauser of Paris on the modern history of banking and exchange; that of Lhéritier of Paris on the enlightened despotisms of the eighteenth century; that of Faÿ of Clermont-Ferrand on the learned societies of that century in Europe and America; that of Marion of Paris on rates of exchange during the French Revolution; that of the Ritter von Srbik of Vienna on the question of German unity, 1815-1866, considered as a European problem; and that

of Learned of Washington on the attitude of the United States Senate toward the Permanent Court of International Justice.⁴

The programme gave almost no sign that any of the members but the Americans took any interest in the history of the United States. Indeed, the American observer may easily go from end to end of Europe without ever encountering a sign of interest in that subject. Meantime he is reading in the newspapers of every country that the United States of America is the most formidable political, economic, and social power in the modern world. As his eye falls on some of the minor topics in the long programme of an historical congress, he will be apt to murmur

"In Athen, Rom, und bei den Lappen,
Da spähn wir jeden Winkel aus," etc.,

and to wonder whether historians in their study of processes of development are as regardful as they might be of the relative importance of the things that have developed.

It was of some significance that a number of the papers were of the nature of surveys of the progress made, in all countries, in this or that field of historical research—the history of population, cuneiform legal inscriptions, the English Medieval exchequer, Gustavus Adolphus, the Italian Risorgimento. Still more significant—significant of the change of attitude by which an international historical congress is coming to be regarded not solely as an occasion for the reading of communications, but also as an opportunity for producing results by joint endeavor—was the number of papers making formal proposals for international coöperation in the advancement of some branch of historical science. And whereas in the early congresses any resolutions of sections in commendation of such proposals were likely to remain sterile for lack of machinery for their examination, they are now regularly referred to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, in which they are sure of sympathetic consideration.

A typical instance of such proposals was the plan for advancing the history of science put forward by Signor Aldo Mieli, professor of that subject in the University of Rome, with the support of a group embracing savants of seven nations who in their respective countries edit journals of the history of science.

In several fields, preparatory work done with a view to the congress, by individuals or committees, resulted in reports printed and laid before the members in advance of the sessions. The most inter-

⁴ The stout volume of *Résumés* summarizes the communications at the rate of somewhat more than an octavo page each; the writer's copy is at the service of inquirers.

esting of these was a stout pamphlet of 238 + 77 pages, *Report on Nationalism in History Text-books*, distributed to members of the congress at its opening, but specially intended for those attending the sessions of the section on the teaching of history. This report, prepared at the instance of two general ecclesiastical organizations, the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches, founded at Constance in 1914, and a committee instituted at Stockholm in 1925 of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, bears a general resemblance to the *Enquête sur les Livres Scolaires d'après Guerre* published not long ago by the Paris office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Edited by Dr. Wilhelm Carlgren of Stockholm, and embracing intelligent surveys, disinterested rather than propagandist, from professional observers in most of the European countries, it contains much to interest the American teacher.⁵

Other reports having the nature of proposals for future work, such as the papers of Messrs. Fliche, Prentout, Hauser, and Lhéritier already mentioned, had been printed in advance in the fifth *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, and thus were available for oral discussion, of which, by the way, there was in some of the sections a good deal.⁶

If space were to be proportioned to importance, it is not certain that the hospitalities, social meetings, and excursions which accompanied the congress should not be treated with as much fullness as the mass of formal communications, for not only is much that is most fruitful in such gatherings achieved by conversation, but their highest purpose, the bringing of historians' minds into harmony despite national boundaries, is more effectively promoted by the social intercourse that goes on outside lecture-halls than by what goes on within them. Acquaintance among men of good-will breeds liking, and nearly all historians and historical scholars are men (or women) of good-will. It is difficult to dine at some hospitable Norwegian board with one who technically was your enemy ten years ago, or to sit beside him during some wonderful drive amid the grand Norwegian scenery, without becoming in some degree his friend, and having ever

⁵ Much of it is written in English, the rest in French and German.

⁶ It may also be mentioned that several of the French papers read in the section for Scandinavian history were available in an advanced offprint from the Norwegian *Historisk Tidsskrift* (fifth series, vol. VII.): that of Professor P. Boissonade of Poitiers and P. J. Charliat of Paris on "Colbert et la Norvège, 1661-1683"; that of the same authors on "Les Relations Économiques entre la France et les Pays du Nord du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle"; and that of Professor P. Verrier of Paris on "Les Rapports Intellectuels et Artistiques entre la France et les Pays Scandinaves".

after in some degree a more intelligent appreciation of his point of view respecting all the past.

Norwegian hospitality was certainly unstinted. King Haakon and Queen Maud received a large number of the members at the palace. The Prime Minister gave a brilliant dinner to the officers of the congress and presidents of the national delegations. The American and other ministers entertained their compatriots. The municipality of Oslo gave an elaborate supper in the imposing halls of the old castle of Akershus, thrown open to social uses for the first time since their restoration. Museums made special occasions for exhibition and explanation of such treasures as those of the viking ships of Oseberg and Gokstad. At the remarkable outdoor Folkemuseum of Bygdø there was supper and folkdancing and singing. On the final evening there was a gala performance, in the National Theatre, of Ibsen's *De Unges Forbund*, admirably acted. And luncheons or teas offered by some of the national delegations increased still further the opportunities for mutual acquaintance.

Special provision was made by ladies of Oslo for the entertainment of the foreign ladies attending the congress—a visit to the State College of Domestic Economy at Stabekk, a dinner for members of the International Association of University Women, a luncheon at Frognerseteren, with its splendid view over Oslo and its bay and surroundings, and a tea in the rooms of the Academy of Sciences.

The chief social event, however, was the formal banquet at the Hotel Bristol, where brief speeches of gratulation, and of compliment to Professor Koht and his committee and associates, were made by representatives of more than a score of the nationalities engaged in the congress.

Still more useful, toward mutual acquaintance and the high ends which it serves, were the excursions which ensued upon the congress. No other European country, unless it were Switzerland, could approach Norway in those resources of scenic beauty which were thus drawn upon for the delectation of the visitors. On the Sunday which followed the days of the congress, there was a delightful steamboat excursion among the islands of the Oslo Fjord. In the ensuing week there was a choice of alternative excursions, one to Trondhjem and four by various routes to Bergen, all carefully planned and most successfully managed, each including travel on the remarkable mountain railway which runs from Oslo to Bergen, automobile journeys on wonderful mountain roads, and voyages on picturesque fjords. At Bergen the museums were explained by Dr. Haakon Shetelig and his associates, and there was a delightful banquet in a restaurant on a mountain-top overlooking that hospitable city. To those "congres-

sistes" who went home by way of Copenhagen a Danish committee headed by the genial and untiring Professor Aage Friis offered still further entertainment, and still further opportunities for sociability and mutual acquaintance, in the museums of their handsome city and in notable excursions to Elsinore and Fredensborg and Frederiksborg and Roskilde.

It remains only to speak of some of the forward steps taken in international historical work by action of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which held fruitful sessions at Oslo concurrently with those of the Congress. Reports of progress were received from several committees previously organized for the prosecution, by international endeavor, of specific tasks, such as the preparation of the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*, of which the volume for the product of 1926 is well advanced in manuscript, and the list of ambassadors, envoys, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* since 1648, to be made, by combined effort, in the various diplomatic archives. The committee on the teaching of history also calls for special mention. A committee to prepare a bibliographical list of constitutions was also appointed, and one to consider a bibliography of newspapers. Several papers advocating the combination of scholars of different nations for the study of specific problems led to the appointment of committees—for the study of the international rôle of the papacy in the Middle Ages, of the causes and origins of the great geographical discoveries, of banking and exchange from the sixteenth century down, and of the "enlightened despotisms" of the eighteenth century. It is too much to expect that all these committees shall pursue these studies to complete success, but whatever is done in them, by international coöperation, will be all to the good, to both work and workers.

It will be of interest to record the composition of the *bureau* of the International Committee, as arranged at the Oslo meeting: president, Koht of Oslo, vice-presidents, Dembinski of Poznan and Dopsch of Vienna, secretary, Lhéritier of Paris, treasurer, Leland of Washington, other members, Brandi of Göttingen, De Sanctis of Turin, Šusta of Prague, Temperley of Cambridge. The committee, in which some thirty countries are now represented, will hold its next meeting at Venice in May, 1929.

The next International Congress of Historical Sciences is to be held at Warsaw in 1933. May it equal that of Oslo in interest and success, in fruitful work toward the advancement of learning, and above all in that spirit of harmony and that united devotion to the truth which give to international historical congresses their real justification!

J. F. JAMESON.

AIDS TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

IN the *Review* for October, 1927, Professor Jernegan gave the results of a questionnaire sent out in 1926, through which it was sought to determine the reasons why more teachers of history did not engage in active research. Among the facts which emerged from this inquiry was the obstacle to productive scholarship presented by the small income of the average college professor, particularly in the years immediately following the attainment of the doctor's degree, the very period during which the impulse to independent scholarship ought most certainly to be kept alive. There can be no doubt, I think, that this constitutes an important and a serious part of the general problem.

In recent years, however, the opportunities for young and ambitious scholars to secure some kind of financial aid in the pursuance of their scholarly interests have very considerably multiplied. Various agencies offer fellowships, grants-in-aid, or prizes, which provide the means or the incentive to research. To many members of the historical gild, in particular those who have come in contact with the administrative machinery of the American Historical Association, the work of these agencies is well known. But there can be little doubt that acquaintance with this work is not as widely diffused throughout the profession as it ought to be. In the following pages, therefore, an attempt is made to set forth in brief form the opportunities of aid open to those engaged in historical scholarship. It should be said at the beginning that this article deals only with aid in the post-doctoral stage, and that it does not treat at all of the possibilities of financial assistance to those who have not completed their work for the Ph.D.

There are certain major agencies whose work in encouraging historical research ought to be particularly emphasized.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

This agency renders three kinds of aid, which should be carefully differentiated—(1) fellowships, (2) grants-in-aid, and (3) funds for coöperative research. These three kinds of aid are administered through three separate committees of the Council. The committee on fellowships is headed by Professor A. M. Schlesinger of Harvard University, and the Secretary is Mr. John V. Van Sickle, 50 East 42d Street, New York City. Applicants are ordinarily expected to have received the doctor's degree, and are required to be not over thirty-five years of age. They must present evidence of their ability to carry on research, and a detailed outline of the project which they have in mind. Application must be made by December 1 of each

year. In allotting the fellowships, however, writes Mr. Van Sickle, "the Committee is more concerned with the potentialities of the fellows than it is with the intrinsic importance of the project submitted". The amount of the stipend is not fixed, but will normally be the equivalent of the academic salary of the appointee, with an allowance for travel. The tenure is indefinite, ranging from a few months to two years, in accordance with the character of the problem. It may be interesting to note that twenty-one of these fellowships were granted for the year 1928-1929.

The Social Science Research Council dispenses grants-in-aid through a committee of which Professor John Archibald Fairlie of the University of Illinois is chairman. For the grants-in-aid no age limit is set. The emphasis is placed upon the character of the project involved, though its proponent must naturally show evidence of ability to pursue it, and the project itself must in general be well under way. The sums allotted tend to be smaller than those for the fellowships, and preference is given, other things being equal, to applicants from the smaller educational institutions. Thirteen of these grants were made in 1928.

Finally the Social Science Research Council encourages large projects of coöperative research, as a rule involving more than one branch of the social sciences. When funds have been allotted for such a purpose, some special agency is usually charged with their administration. It would no doubt be open to a group of scholars to apply for aid for a significant project of this kind.

GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

This agency is one for the awarding of fellowships for advanced study abroad. Application for such fellowships is to be made in writing by November 15 of each year to Henry Allen Moe, Secretary of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 2300 Pershing Square Building, New York City. In general, applicants must be between 25 and 35 years of age, though awards have been made in exceptional cases to persons of forty or even beyond. They must furnish evidence of capacity for productive scholarship, and submit a plan of study. If awarded a fellowship, they must submit a report at the expiration of their term. The stipend for these fellowships is usually \$2500. Reappointment is possible. It should also be noted that by its terms the foundation is to make awards for research in any field of knowledge. Guggenheim Fellowships, therefore, are not awarded in the field of the social sciences alone.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The American Council of Learned Societies makes small grants of from \$50 to \$300 to mature scholars, citizens of or permanently domiciled in the United States, to aid them in projects of research already begun. These grants have been awarded in the field of all the humanities, broadly defined (*i.e.*, philosophy, philology and literature, linguistics, art and archaeology, and history), but a considerable proportion of them have been in the historical field. Anyone interested should address the Permanent Secretary of the Council, Mr. W. G. Leland, at 907 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Applications must be made before January 31, and the awards are granted by April first of the same year.

The American Council of Learned Societies also interests itself in securing support for larger and more ambitious projects. It has recently secured a grant to enable Professor William A. Heidel of Wesleyan to complete his history of Greek philosophical and scientific thought prior to the fourth century B.C., and another smaller grant to enable N. E. Griffin, lately of Bryn Mawr, to prepare an edition of the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne. "We are always ready", writes the permanent secretary, "to undertake the financing of approved projects of historical research, that do not come clearly within the province of the Social Science Research Council."

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is hardly necessary to point out to readers of the *American Historical Review* that the American Historical Association itself has been most vitally interested in the problem of aids to research and publication. Its great endowment campaign should appeal to every member of the Association as an opportunity to aid in making its hopes in this regard effective, and it ought, I think, to be stated frankly, that, at the present moment, we are a long way from the goal of anything like adequate assistance to historical scholarship. There are, however, two funds which are soon to be available, the Beveridge Fund of over \$50,000 and the Griswold Fund of \$25,000. The income from these funds may be used for the encouragement of research, and has, indeed, in the case of the first of them, already been allotted for the present year.

Perhaps even more important today, because of the paucity of other resources of the same type, is the revolving fund for publication administered by the American Historical Association, and made available through the Carnegie Corporation. The amount of this fund is \$25,000 and the income from it may be used for the publi-

cation of historical works of general interest embodying the results of research and not likely to appeal to a commercial publisher. Applications for the use of any portion of it should be addressed to Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

The Carnegie Institution is a fifth agency which ought to be mentioned amongst those which afford aid to historical research. It is now affording financial support to Dr. Sarton's notable work on the history of science, and to the philosophical and historical studies of Dr. Heidel. There are no special funds set aside for grants in history, but the Institution, writes President John C. Merriam, "is much interested in historical investigations in the wider sense, and is always glad to discuss such projects and to give careful consideration to possible sources of support for fundamental constructive work, either from its own funds or through other agencies".

FELLOWSHIPS AND PRIZES

The agencies which have just been mentioned do not, however, exhaust the possibilities. There are a number of fellowships administered through other agencies which ought to be included in any complete list of sources of aid for historical scholarship. There are also a number of prizes for meritorious historical work, which afford a source of aid to publication if not to research. I append a list of both. The fellowship list includes only those fellowships which are clearly post-doctoral in character, and which do not imply a period of residence at any specific institution at home or abroad. For further information on this subject the reader may be referred to Professor Ogg's *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences*, pages 390-406 and 412-413, and to the pamphlet issued by the Institute of International Education, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, entitled "Fellowships and Scholarships open to American Students for Study in Foreign Countries".

American Association of University Women. This association awards the following fellowships:

Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women who not only hold the degree of Ph.D. or Sc.D., but can present evidence of distinctive subsequent accomplishment in research, stipend, \$1200.

Boston Alumnae Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women for graduate or research work of a constructive character in Europe or America. The applicant must normally be a graduate of an approved college; although the award may be made, at the committee's

discretion, to any woman who submits a report of a limited amount of investigation, provided exceptional promise is shown, stipend, \$800.

European Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women who have met the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. with the possible exception of completion of the dissertation, for research in Europe, stipend, \$1200.

Julia C. G. Pratt Memorial Fellowship, unrestricted, awarded every third year, stipend, \$1000.

Applications for the above fellowships should be addressed to Professor Agnes L. Rogers, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., not later than January 15.

Archaeological Institute of America. This body maintains research fellowships, paying \$1000 a year, in the fields of early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance studies. Application should be made to Rollin H. Tanner, general secretary, New York University, University Heights, New York City.

American Jewish Historical Society: this society disposes of a research fund of about \$4000, the proceeds of which is to be devoted to defraying the cost of specific pieces of research, with regard to the history of the Jews in America or to the interests of Jewish history at large. Its secretary is Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York City.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This society is more properly concerned with the field of international law, in which it grants a number of fellowships. Because of the close connection between international law and diplomatic history it is herein included. Fellowship applications should be addressed not later than March 16 to Dr. James Brown Scott, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation. This commission offers fellowships of a minimum stipend of \$150 monthly, together with allowances for travelling expenses, first-class, from the residence or university of the fellow in the United States to or from Belgium. A candidate for one of these fellowships must be an American citizen; have a thorough speaking and reading knowledge of French; be a member of the faculty of an American college, university, or research institute, and have the intention of continuing in academic teaching or research; have definite plans for his proposed work in Belgium; be capable of independent study or research; and be in good health. American fellows will be required to reside and pursue their work in Belgium for at least seven months in any one fellowship year. Applications must be sent to the Fellowship Committee, 42 Broadway, New York City, before December 15, for appointments for the following academic year.

American Field Service Fellowships in French universities. These fellowships are in many fields of study, including history. Their stipend is \$1200 a year, with the possibility of renewal. A candidate must be a citizen of the United States or of one of its possessions; *at the time of making the application* a graduate of a college of recognized standing or of a professional school requiring three years of study for a degree; or if not qualified in either of these ways, twenty-four years of age and have spent five years in work requiring high technical skill; be of good moral character and intellectual ability, and of suitable personal qualities; and have a practical ability to use French books, both in general subjects and in his own special field, and be able to speak French and understand lectures delivered in French. The fellowships are open only to men. Applications should be addressed before December 15 to Archie M. Palmer, Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City.

With regard to prizes, there are two classes which might be considered. There are, first, those which may be awarded *prior to* publication, and which therefore offer the possibility of aid in a definite and concrete sense. There are also those prizes awarded for a work already published, which offer a reward for research and publication, but do not directly subsidize it. I include here only the first class.

In this class, the most significant, indeed almost the only ones, are those offered by the American Historical Association itself. Essays in competition for these prizes should be submitted by July first of the year in which the prize is given. The award of one of them, the Justin Winsor Prize, carries with it the possibility of publication in the *Annual Report*. The prizes are: the Justin Winsor Prize of \$200, offered in even-numbered years for the encouragement of writers on history who have not previously published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Monographs submitted must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, using the word American in its broader sense; the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200, offered in odd-numbered years, the terms of which are the same as Justin Winsor Prize, except that the monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere; the George Louis Beer Prize, for the best work on "any phase of European international history since 1895", limited to 50,000 words. The prize must be awarded to an American citizen; the John M. Dunning Prize, the income from a \$2000 fund, for the best essay, by a member of the American Historical Association, covering "historical matter

connected with the Southern states during the Reconstruction period ”.

Attention should also be called to the Simon Baruch University Prize of \$1000, awarded biennially for the best unpublished monograph or essay submitted in the field of Southern history, preferably in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing on the causes that led to the Civil War. This prize is open to graduates and undergraduates, but also to those who have been students in universities and standard colleges in the United States within the preceding three years. Essays are to be sent to Mrs. Arthur H. Jennings, 2200 Rivermont Avenue, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Such are the sources of aid for historical research and publication so far as I have been able to ascertain them at the present time. Others may, and doubtless will, in the future be made available; and in particular the decisions taken as to the administration of the Henry E. Huntington bequest will be of great interest to historical scholars. But there is already a very fair opportunity of assistance for competent workers, especially for those who, fresh from the doctor's degree, feel the urge to keep alive the enthusiasm for research which enriches their teaching and deepens their view of their subjects. It is in the hope that this opportunity will be more fully appreciated than it is today that this article has been written.

In addition the Harrison Research Fellowships at the University of Pennsylvania should be included. Three fellowships are granted each year, stipend \$1500; these are open to holders of the Ph.D. degree from any institution. There are also the Sterling fellowships at Yale University, stipend \$1000 to \$2500 or more, depending on the previous experience of the candidate, open primarily to holders of the Ph.D. degree from any institution, although a limited number may be granted to students who have not yet obtained that degree.

DEXTER PERKINS.

DOCUMENTS

*Diary of José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, 1811-1812, II.*¹

Year of 1812. First of January.

1. I did not leave the house.

2. At the instance of a friend they took me to the house of an excellent painter to have him paint my portrait, and keep my likeness, now that they have been unable to keep the original, although they have put into execution some plans to this effect. One of them was to have a grand fandango in this very house, so that I might see a very beautiful girl and have a dance with her. I was assured, too, that she has a capital of 10,000 pesos. I had the good sense (*bondad*) to leave the house and go to the house of a friend, where I stayed until late at night, because these people joke very little, and he who lets himself be drawn into a proposal as a joke will get himself into a very embarrassing predicament.

3. I went to the city of Georgetown (*Jorgia*) to change some bills at the Bank of the Treasury of Columbia.²

4. Setting out for Baltimore, I entered the province of Maryland and passed a village. At sunset I came to the beautiful city of Baltimore. There are iron mines here and a seaport. In the coach in which I came was also a naval officer of Napoleon; he speaks Spanish well.

5. I set out with Mr. Power to walk about the city, [to see] its buildings [and] its stone bridges over the river which flows through the city. From there we went to see the basin (*escañal*) through which the merchant vessels enter the interior of the city. On the shore of the basin are the warehouses where the boats load and unload. From here we went nearer the harbor, where there were many great sloops (*balandras*). We boarded one of them, and looked at eighteen rooms with their beds for the passengers, and the dining table with all the necessary equipment. There were more than a hundred vessels of various sizes, some lashed with iron cables to the shore, others anchored. In the afternoon we went to the mouth of the harbor to see the large ships, of which there were many—more than two hundred, small and great, they told us. It gave me great pleasure to see so many high masts with their yard-arms and their sails furled—so many that they seemed like a huge forest. We boarded one of the large ships which lay with its side against the wharf. The harbor is so good that the ships can come right up to the wharf, and one has only to step off the ground onto the ships' ladders (*escalones*). From here we went through the streets of the city admiring the clean, elegant (*garboso*) fashion of dress of the Englishmen, as also of the English women, and admiring the great beauty of their faces and their well-formed bodies.

¹ It had not been observed when the first instalment of this diary was published, that the letter of Gutiérrez and Sosa (or Sora) mentioned in note 7 on p. 58, above, had been printed in W. R. Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, III. 1593.

² The Bank of Columbia, Georgetown, 1793-1827.

In this city there is a great trade in everything one could desire. At the mouth of the harbor is the fort;³ I did not go to see it, because it was on the opposite side.

6. I went to the harbor, to see if there were a boat going to Philadelphia, in order to take passage thither by water. There was none, because they say it is impossible to enter through the channel on account of the water's being frozen by the intense cold. I went, however, and paid for a seat in one of the coaches which go to Philadelphia. I shall set out tomorrow at nine. This house where I am is kept by French people; they have very good food, and one pays a little less than in other American houses.

7. I set out for Philadelphia. We passed four towns in the course of the day, and in the afternoon crossed an arm of the sea about three quarters of a league wide, in a little boat with two sails. All the water was frozen; it was necessary to break the ice with a great iron pole as we went. We spent the night at a town (*poblason*).

8. We set out at 3 o'clock a.m. We passed five towns and a great many stone bridges, some with iron pillars and huge chains the least of whose links weighed more than twenty-five pounds (*arroba*). We have kept in sight of the coast and of the great mountains of ice made by the waves as they beat upon the shore. About 11 o'clock we came to the great and populous city of Philadelphia, and at our arrival crossed a great bridge⁴ admirable for its fine (*grande*) architecture. It is roofed over with wood, and below the roof are a great many glass street lamps to light it at night. I stopped in (*la calle 51*) at the house of a general, a man who stands high because he is of those who fought for the independence of this happy country (*reyno*).

9. I had the tailor called in to make me a suit. At night I went to see the portraits⁵ of Bonaparte, the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, George III., Ferdinand VII., King Sebastian of Portugal, the Prince Regent, and various other personages; as also some scenes from the Scriptures, *e.g.*, the death of Rachel, and the violence which Potiphar's wife tried to do to Joseph; I saw (*conosi*) the French guillotine guillotining a woman—all with such perfection that they seemed living men. All the emperors and kings wore rich clothing and royal insignia. All this was something worth seeing; some foreigners had brought it from the kingdoms of Europe.

10. I went to the Museum,⁶ where I saw all the species of animals that are known in the world up to [*break; part of the diary lost.*]⁷

By false testimony they put him here⁸ for ten years, and the unfortunate consoles himself with that; but I believe that only if he dies will he get out under ten years—and that in order not to be a nuisance to the

³ Fort McHenry.

⁴ The High Street (now Market Street) bridge over the Schuylkill.

⁵ Probably wax works.

⁶ No doubt Peale's Museum according to information received from Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, librarian of the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

⁷ The account covering about three weeks is lost here, the narrative being abruptly resumed on Jan. 31 or Feb. 1, when the diarist is recording his impression of a Philadelphia prison.

⁸ The prison here referred to may have been "the first Philadelphia prison . . . built on High Street in 1695 . . . transferred to the corner of Third and High Streets and . . . finished in 1723". Montgomery.

living. Another Majorcan who is in for ten years—and they say he is a good philosopher—says he is there also because of [false] testimony. But in him I observed sound judgment, in that as a good philosopher he has made a rigorous examination as to whether this American government is just and wise in its procedure; and, satisfied that he has solved this problem, he expresses himself in these words: "Friend", he said to me, "in the world over which I have travelled I have not seen a government which is wiser than this and which contributes more to the general happiness. The most of the prisoners who live here are guilty of crimes which in Spain would be capital offences; but this government in its mercy sentences no man to death; what it does is to sentence criminals to remain in this prison more or less time in proportion to their crimes. Here they put us to work at tasks which we know and are able to do; they pay us a wage of 30 pence (*penés*) a month, 15 for food and 15 for washing and other little things we need; they give us ready-made clothing, good clean beds, and very good food; so that when any one of us has completed his term a debit and credit account is rendered us. There is a man who drew as much as a hundred pesos clear for his maintenance [after leaving prison]. Each individual is credited according to whether he has worked more or less during his term of imprisonment. The result is that men are highly benefitted by the fact of being punished, because they go out with money, with a trade, and, what is more, reformed and grateful." From here we passed into the women's prison. It gave me great pleasure to see them working at spinning and other tasks appropriate to women. Blessed and happy is the country that has a wise government!

In the afternoon I walked to the dock (*Marina*) and boarded a frigate. From there I went to the Café, which is a great gathering place for society (*gran casa de sociedad*).⁹ There I learned that in the *Aurora*¹⁰ had come out a notice that the insurgents had entered Vera Cruz; and I am delighted (*admirado*) at the great rejoicing of the people of this city on this account; especially the foreigners who are here from all the kingdoms of Europe. A participant in this rejoicing was the ambassador from Denmark,¹¹ as he has manifested many expressions of joy; even though there is only a rumor, in which I see nothing certain. Therefore I am delighted with the desire of everyone to see the insurgents win. They say that these are defending the most righteous (*justa*) cause that has ever been defended in all the ages. I have noted also the great desire which many of them have, to go to Mexico, and many of them have put themselves to school to a teacher whom they have paid to teach them the Spanish language. I am of the opinion that if a free passage were given to these people, there would be more than a million inhabitants who would go in a short time.

Sunday, [February] 2. I went to mass and to hear the bishop¹² preach.

⁹ "Probably the London Coffee House." Montgomery.

¹⁰ Duane's *Aurora* of Feb. 1, p. 2, "Extract of a letter from Havanna—January 13th, 1812".

¹¹ Peder Pedersen, consul; chargé d'affaires for Denmark 1803–1815, minister resident 1815–1830.

¹² Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, bishop of Philadelphia, 1810–1814, preaching probably at St. Mary's Church.

3. I went to the dock, and took a walk through the city. At night I went to pay a visit to a handsome young woman, one of the principal women of the city, who did me the distinguished honor to admit me to her boudoir. This is a mark of distinction which is shown to very few persons—this is the custom of the country—be their rank what it may.

4. I went out to see the dock. As it had rained the night before, the ice had melted; the boats had already cast loose, and many of them had spread their sails and were moving in the middle of the channel. From here I went to a great college¹³ where they study all the sciences, especially medicine—in this subject alone there are more than three hundred students—, mathematics, and geography. After I had gone through the college, which is an admirable building, one of the officers took me to a room in which there are wonderful things; I saw the electric machine; I saw the firmament with the stars, comets and signs [of the Zodiac]; I saw the terrestrial globe with all the countries of the world, and the seas, islands, and isthmuses, all colored; I saw an infinitude of barometers and thermometers of all shapes and sizes; I saw a world of apparatus, great and small, for all manner of experiments; I saw also the cities of London, Rome, Paris, and other great cities of Europe, with as great accuracy and naturalness as they are in reality, their temples, streets, and buildings of the same form as they are, with their great and admirable architecture, the carriages, the men and women going about the streets as if in reality they were alive.

5. I went out to see the hospital¹⁴ for the poor and for strangers; I was gratified to see the great cleanliness of everything. It has a very good dispensary (*botica*) and a great library; but nothing gave me so much pleasure as the excellent order of the kitchen. All its fireplaces (*chimeneas*) are of iron and the fire covered so that there is neither smoke nor ashes. Everything that is cooked or roasted is covered within those fireplaces; the water which it is necessary to heat is covered within other fireplaces. The receptacles (*vasijos*) in which the water is placed are hidden, and the water rises in steam through several sheet-iron (*oja de lata*) pipes and enters one large pipe, from which it falls into a reservoir. Thus everything is in remarkable order. The kitchen is covered with carpets and so clean that it looks like a dressing-room (*recamara*). From here I went to the poor-house,¹⁵ where there are a great many men

¹³ "The University of Pennsylvania, where the collections of electrical machines and orreries of David Rittenhouse, Benjamin Franklin, and Kinnersley excited much interest." Montgomery.

¹⁴ "The Pennsylvania Hospital was the first general hospital in the United States and is still standing between Eighth and Ninth Streets and Spruce and Pine. It owes its origin to the Doctors Bond. Benjamin Franklin claimed to have been one of its founders. It is still a model of neatness and it is considered a great honor to be chosen one of its resident physicians." Montgomery. If Dr. Montgomery's identification is correct, as it doubtless is, Gutiérrez de Lara here seems to make another error of detail, in giving the impression that this hospital was "for the poor and for strangers" alone; an error due no doubt to his limited knowledge of English and the probably almost total ignorance of Spanish on the part of the people he met.

¹⁵ "The Philadelphia Almshouse was established by the Quakers and consisted of a number of small houses on Walnut Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets. This served the city for 112 years. It was torn down in 1841." Montgomery.

and women. For all who are able to work there are many tasks at which they labor. In a woollen mill I saw an invention which is operated by a boy turning a wheel; this turns some cylinders which are covered with teeth as of cards; and there the wool is carded (*alli meten la lana*) so fine that it rises like a foam with the bats (*tasajos*) made so that all one has to do is to put them on the spindle and spin them. It excites wonder to see how these very clever men have advanced all the industries (*Artes*). From here I went to the madhouse. I was very much interested in seeing some of them bound with chains, and, what is more, their amusing extravagances; one of these was the perversity of a woman who was trying to convince them that she is a queen.

6. Today they have brought me the news that the ambassador¹⁶ of the Emperor of Russia is anxious to speak with me in order to tender me the good will of his emperor with reference to the independence of Mexico, as he has been charged—in letters which he has received—to protect and to show this order to the nationals (*sujetos*) of Mexico who may appear here on missions to expedite ways and means in favor of independence.

7. Today there came to this city a Portuguese passenger who came from Lisbon on a vessel reaching New York after thirty-three days voyage. He has brought us the news that Bonaparte has proposed to the King of Portugal to make peace with him and to return him the provinces which he has taken from him, on condition of the king's declaring war upon England. There is good assurance that he will do so, because when Bonaparte sent his ambassador to Rio de Janeiro—to the court of Brazil—the King of Portugal gave so grand a reception to the said French ambassador as to make the British ambassador so jealous that he had to leave the kingdom immediately.¹⁷

As for this and other well-founded reasons I say to the Americas, "Beware! Beware!"

8. I did not leave the house.

9. Sunday. I went to the dock to see the vessel in which I am to sail. It appears that tomorrow she will go out to the mouth of the harbor; within two or three days the captain and I shall go out in a little boat far enough to board the said vessel for New Orleans. The channel of the harbor is almost entirely thawed out; now one sees no more than some banks of ice about five or six *varas* thick.

10. I went to the dock to see twenty boats come in from various points of Europe; they say that one comes from France; I hope to learn some news which they may bring. From here I went to the house of the secretary of the Senate,¹⁸ in pursuance of an invitation that he had given me to eat with him at his table, which was very splendid.

11. Today I learned that Spain is almost all in the possession of Napoleon; that no more remains to the government of Spain than Cádiz and a small part of Galicia. Some Frenchmen have made themselves very friendly to me, and I have returned the compliment, so that they believed

¹⁶ André de Daschkoff, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, Nov., 1811–March, 1819. It is not likely that he had received such instructions as are here described. See Dexter Perkins, in this journal, XXVIII. 657–658.

¹⁷ Here also the diarist's information was erroneous. Lord Strangford continued as British envoy to the Portuguese court in Brazil from 1808 to 1815.

¹⁸ Neither the secretary of the United States Senate, Samuel Alleyne Otis, nor the clerk of the Pennsylvania senate, James A. McJimsey, lived in Philadelphia.

me, though they are the very devil. I think by this bit of deception to get some papers from them, and thereby I shall be able to discover a formidable plot which is being laid against Mexico. They have believed me so implicitly that they have already offered me one of the four aides-de-camp of Napoleon that are here, to accompany me. I have accepted, but as soon as I return from Mexico.

12. Today at 10 o'clock I went on board a sloop (*balandra*) and we set sail. In six hours we reached Newcastle, which is a town on the shore of the channel. As soon as we arrived we went on board our vessel, and they gave me at once a good stateroom in the best part of the ship. We had a delightful voyage today, because the channel is so pretty with its trees and the towns on its shore. There is a fort¹⁹ with its artillery, and some windmills. Another thing which interested (*divertia*) me was the great number of vessels that came in and out through the channel.

13. At dawn today the channel was frozen because of the intense cold last night, and therefore it has been impossible to navigate, notwithstanding the fact that the tide rose with such force as to break the ice-floe, which was not more than five or six fingers thick. Mountains of ice were heaped up, so that it is impossible for any vessel to travel. The channel is more than a league wide, and the currents are so strong that they lifted the ice and broke it with such force as to make a frightful noise. The vessels which set out—more than thirty—had to hug the shore to escape the terrific pounding of these mountains of ice. Today I went to shore in a boat and had a meal at an inn; afterward I walked through all the streets of the town and came on board to sleep at night.

14. Today it was not possible to set out because the ice had thickened in the course of the night; but it began to rain at dawn, whereupon the channel began to open; and this gives hopes for tomorrow.

15. Today the vessel set sail, and at a few leagues distance cast anchor because of a fresh wind and of many ice-floes which at night would have been very dangerous. Among the vessels which anchored here was one coming from Portugal.

Sunday, 16. Today at dawn a fresh gale blew up, which would have exposed us to great danger had not the mariners foreseen it and made fast. This morning the snow began to fall so heavily that in a little while it almost hid the vessels, and it was necessary for all the crew to busy themselves in shoveling the snow into the water. It fell so heavily and in such large flakes that they appeared like tufts of cotton (*Capullos de algodón*).²⁰ A good many frigates have arrived today, and some have not been able to enter; they have anchored in the open sea, where they are being terribly beaten by the ice-floes which are coming down.

17. The storm lasted all night, and at dawn navigation was impossible because the whole channel was frozen.

18. Today it was still impossible to navigate because of the great calm and the abundant ice. I entertained myself by boarding the war frigates and other vessels. I went on board the Portuguese war frigate last; the captain received me with great courtesy; and as the Portuguese language is almost like the Spanish, we talked at length on European affairs. On

¹⁹ Fort Penn, opposite Reedy Island.

²⁰ *Capullo* is the Spanish term for cotton bursting from the ripened open boll, ready for picking.

this frigate two Portuguese clergymen are passengers; one of them is the man who married and left his wife in Philadelphia.

19. The day dawned clear with a favorable wind. Very early in the morning we set sail, and about sunset we were on the high sea. I immediately became seasick and began to vomit.

20.

21.

22. Today we sighted a sail, a few hours to leeward—about a quarter of a league. They made an observation with a telescope and announced that she was a French pirate corvette. She began to follow us, but as soon as she saw that our vessel was very swift and that a formidable gale was coming down upon us, she desisted from her pursuit and struck sail.

Sunday, 23.

24.

25. The storm lasted until today, and we have escaped miraculously from being submerged in the waves. What inner conflict and terror (*conflictos y congojas*) we suffered when we saw the ship rise so high that she seemed to reach the clouds, and from there drop down with such swiftness and bury herself in the depths of the sea, and the proud waves meet above us mountain-high; and all this with a deafening noise!

26. Today dawned with the sea somewhat calmed and a favoring wind. About two leagues distant we sighted a ship, but she did not come near us.

27. Today we have had a good wind, and the sea quiet. I have been much interested in seeing very large fishes appear; among them many porpoises (*taurones*).²¹

28. Today at dawn we were near an island²² about fifteen leagues in length on the side where we passed; it has hills or ridges on the same side, which are very rocky; and the sea beats terribly there. Three vessels have come behind us, but the sails indicate that they are Americans. About four o'clock p.m. we sighted many little islands in the form of hills. About 12 midnight we came to the Bank, which is a large part of the sea not more than 18 feet deep; here we anchored and at dawn found ourselves fast.

29. Very early in the morning we weighed anchor and set sail, but after a little the wind fell, and the vessel was becalmed all day and all night.

March

Sunday, 1. At dawn it was still impossible to navigate because of the calm, but at two o'clock a good wind sprang up, and we set sail.

2. Today we have sailed with a good wind.

3. Today likewise.

4. Today we sighted the island of Cuba, and after a little we heard in one of its harbors thirty-odd cannon-shot. God knows what they wanted!

5. Today about noon we sighted the city of Havana, and I was greatly interested in looking with the telescope at Morro and its great fortifications.

6. Today we entered the Gulf of Mexico, and took a northwest course for New Orleans.

²¹ This definition was furnished me by Carlos Casteñeda, a native of Brownsville, Texas, now of the Genaro Garcia Library, University of Texas.

²² The islands noted in this paragraph are probably of the Bahama group; "the Banks" either the Little or the Great Bahama Bank.

7. Today we have sailed with a favoring wind, and I have been interested in seeing many large fishes show themselves; the sailors caught one of the small ones, but it got away.

Sunday, 8. Today a good wind.

9. Today likewise.

10. Today we had a gale day and night.

11. Today little wind. We have sighted two frigates and two brigantines. At night we came near the mouth of the Mississippi. The sea had been darkened by a thick fog ever since the afternoon. In the darkness it was seen that a vessel was approaching; and the men on both ships began shouting at one another, asking who they were and whence they came. The other frigate said that she came from Jamaica, and we went about anchoring (*dimos forma de anclar*). After a little others began to shout in the dark; and these we believed were of some pirate ship, because they immediately fired two cannon shots, and subjected us to a very close scrutiny (*nos tomaban una residencia muy apretado*) so that we thought they were enemies. But as soon as they were sure that we were not hostile, they told us that their vessel was the boat on which were the pilots that guide all vessels to the harbor.

12. Today we rode at anchor because of a dead calm. Hereupon the captain went on board the frigate which came from Jamaica, who brought the news that the English and the Junta at Cádiz are having a terrible quarrel over some millions of pesos; and they say that from one hour to another the Englishman turns his artillery against Spain. As for the English minister,²³ he has gone from Cádiz to London.

13. Today we had some wind, and we began to sail; but upon our arrival at the mouth of the river a squall from the land met us and carried us out to the open sea; soon it died down, and we spent the night at the same place whence we started in the morning, waiting for the right wind. After a little we saw coming a schooner of French pirates which carried thirty armed men; but in order to obviate disputes with them the sailors ran up the American flag; whereupon they did not approach.

14. Today we sailed half the day, and anchored, because at night they could not come up to the mouth of the river on account of the many reefs (*escollos*) on the coast.

Sunday, 15. Today dawned calm, and therefore we did not weigh anchor; but about noon a wind storm blew up, so violent that it snapped the thick cables of some vessels near us, and tossed them over the waves; and we lost sight of them completely. Our ship had a heavy cable, which the wind could not break; but it began to drag anchor so that we were about to be dashed upon some mighty rocks. Here began our struggles: for as soon as the ship saw herself overcome and beaten by the haughty tempest she began to sink, and in order to obviate this the sailors took an ax and cut the stout cable. Then the ship began to ride the waves, and after a little she was driven near the coast, where there were many large rocks showing their points. Oh what a terrible experience for all! Death seemed to us inevitable; especially when the ship began to plunge in the direction of the rocks (*en el plan qe alcanzaba*) and when we saw them afterward no more than thirty *varas* away. But the sailors, manoeuvring with great energy and skill, swung the prow clear of the reef, and she passed, to everybody's astonishment, without touching the rocks. De-

²³ Henry Wellesley, afterward Lord Cowley; brother of Wellington. It does not appear that he went to London at this time.

livered from so great a danger we praised the All-Powerful. Soon the storm began to calm down, and we cast the other anchor near the mouth of the river.

16. Today about 9 o'clock a.m. they weighed anchor and we soon afterward entered the mouth of the Mississippi River; and notwithstanding its rapid currents we arrived about 4 o'clock p.m. at Fort Plaquemines (*castillo de Placaminez*).²⁴ It is a very good fort; it has in its batteries cannon of large caliber. We sailed two leagues farther and anchored, because it was impossible to navigate, owing to the darkness of the night.

17. Very early in the morning we set sail; about ten o'clock a.m. the wind changed and it was necessary to anchor. At four o'clock p.m. a boat seeking passengers came out, and for a doubloon (*onza*)²⁵ took us by twos to the town which is [near by—a total distance of] 24 leagues away. We navigated until midnight.

18. We set out very early in the morning, and began to come to the settlements. It pleased me to see so many orange trees, the most of them from China.

19. We rowed until 12 o'clock at night.

20. We spent the night at the Turn (*torno*),²⁶ so called because of the windings of the river.

21. Today the wind was very contrary; we rowed.

Sunday, 22. Today we spent the night in sight of New Orleans.

23. Today we arrived, at 8 o'clock a.m. I engaged board in the house of an Italian. I went to the house of the governor and gave him a letter of recommendation²⁷ which I bore from the federal government (*Corte*); he received me with great kindness, and we made an appointment for four o'clock p.m. I went, and he said my travel henceforth would be at his cost.²⁸ Here, too, I met an American gentleman who is

²⁴ Or Ft. St. Philip.

²⁵ 15 or 16 pesos. Compare with the entry for November 27, 1811.

²⁶ Probably English Turn. Claiborne, *Mississippi*, p. 22, gives a different traditional explanation of the name: "About this time [1698] Bienville, on a reconnaissance in one of the bends of the Mississippi, fell in with an English ship, Captain Barr, who had been sent to explore the river and make a settlement. The Frenchman very coolly informed the Englishman that the Mississippi lay much further to the west, that this stream was a dependence of Canada, and that it had been for some time occupied by the forces of the King of France. Capt. Barr thanked him for the information so politely given, and sailed westward in search of the great river! To this day the bend is known as 'the English Turn'."

²⁷ This was merely a personal letter from John Graham, chief clerk of the Department of State, formerly secretary of the Territory of Orleans. The governor, William C. C. Claiborne, acknowledges receipt of this letter on Mar. 31, 1812, stating that in the absence of any letter from the Secretary of State regarding "the person, to whose care . . . was committed" Graham's letter, he is at a loss "as to the degree of countenance proper to show him". *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 68-69.

²⁸ In the letter to John Graham cited above, it is stated that in view of Graham's suggestion "that the Government wished his return to Mexico to be expedited", Governor Claiborne has recommended Gutiérrez de Lara "to the friendly attention of Captain William Shaler", who is going up to Natchitoches by the next boat. "This Stranger" having represented himself as "wholly destitute of funds", the governor is asking Captain Shaler to advance the amount necessary

consul of the government (*Gobierno*);²⁹ who made me move to his lodging; and we agreed to set out for Natchitoches together.

24. We went to the house of the governor, where there was a gathering of all the military officers, who had come to pay their respects to the governor.

25. Today the governor came to visit me and to invite me to come to his house to take a meal with him; for which I thanked him.

26. Today I went walking over the city; and I saw the beautiful gardens and the very straight streets (*lo mui recto de los calles*). In the afternoon I went down to the wharf to see an admirable and never-before-seen device which some men have invented. It is a great ship which they call a steamboat,³⁰ which moves very swiftly against the winds and the currents by means of fire; which is a thing worth seeing. The said ship is so large that she seems like a little village (*poblacion*); inside, she has three saloons, three galleries, and various rooms. Her cargo could not be carried by fifty mule-trains; she earns for her owner 3000 pesos every month in freights.

27. Today I went to dine with the governor. The table was very abundantly supplied with food, wines, oranges, and apples. A gentleman who was present invited the governor and me to his house tomorrow. This gentleman is a very powerful merchant; his name is Benjamin Morgan (*Moguen*).³¹ The governor gave us many toasts in fine (*jenerosos*) wines to the health of Generalissimo Rayón,³² to the union of the Two Americas, and to the health of my family.

28. Today we went on the invitation tendered us by Don Benjamin—the governor, the consul of the government, and I. The meal was served to us in the house of a very wealthy man (*poderoso*).

Sunday, 29. Today the governor, the consul, and I have been impelled to wonder at the extravagant love for my Generalissimo Rayón which a very beautiful young woman of an illustrious family of Baltimore has manifested. Only from hearing me refer to the great virtues with which he is endowed, and being enamored of his virtues she has shown an

for a comfortable voyage to Natchitoches for "the stranger" [Gutiérrez de Lara]. *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 45, 75, 79.

²⁹ Captain William Shaler, referred to in the letter of Claiborne, cited in note 28. Dr. Garza speaks of Shaler as a spy, whose main purpose ever since the time of his appointment as consul to Havana in 1810 had been to get such connection with the Mexican Revolution as would enable him to manipulate it in the interest of the United States; as a shrewd politician, widely travelled, an excellent linguist, an unscrupulously devoted patriot, attractive, diplomatic, about forty-eight years old at this time, and "finally, marked by the hand of God: a cripple!" *Dos Hermanos Héroes*, pp. 61–63 *et seq.* He had been appointed commercial agent to Mexico.

³⁰ The *New Orleans*, Captain Nicholas J. Roosevelt, the first Mississippi River steamboat, the property of Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston, arrived at New Orleans on Jan. 10, 1812, almost five years after the successful voyage of Fulton's *Clermont* up the Hudson. See *Claiborne Letter Books*, V. 185–186, 220, VI. 1–2, 41.

³¹ See *Claiborne Letter Books*, *passim*, for some of Morgan's various activities.

³² Ignacio López Rayón, one of the most prominent of the Mexican revolutionary leaders. See Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, IV., *passim*, for a history of his revolutionary career.

extravagant love for him; she has had many toasts drunk in fine wines to his health. She has asked me if I could safely take her with me; I replied that it was not possible. She said that if woman's dress made it difficult she would take with her men's clothing to use when it was advisable; I told her that it was impossible even so. She then told me that she would give me her portrait to take to him. Oh how estimable is virtue in a man of reputation! She is a woman of great beauty and good breeding; she belongs to a family of high reputation, rich in the good things of a fortune gained by work; her age is nineteen years; and the best personages have offered her their hands in marriage. She knows two languages and is going to study Spanish; she plays the dulcimer admirably.

30. Today I did not leave the house.

31. Today likewise I did not leave.

April

1. I went shopping to buy various little things for personal use. The governor came to see me today.

2. Today I went to see the governor, and we took a walk over the city.

3. I walked over to the arsenal and the bay. There are a hundred large and many more small boats.

4. Today the governor came to see me.

Sunday, 5. Today I did not leave the house.

6. Today I went for a drive in a carriage with Madame Rayón. Today there came to the consul the news of a conspiracy against the United States which the British were framing in Canada.

7. I had an invitation to breakfast at the house of Mr. Morgan with the governor and the consul, and my trip was put off until tomorrow.³³

8. We went early in the morning to breakfast at Mr. Morgan's, the consul and I; and he lent us his carriage to drive to the boat which was awaiting us at a distance of half a league. We sailed all day.³⁴

9. We set out very early in the morning, the consul and I; and we landed and began to walk along the fertile bank, looking at the many beautiful gardens, the many fruit trees, especially oranges; myrtles covered with flowers and fruits; and what I admired more was the admirable and exquisite order in which all the trees are planted.

10. We sailed even into the night.

11. I travelled on land a little while, because the very fertile banks of this grand, indescribably great Mississippi are very delightful to me. Men who have travelled all over Europe and even other countries have told me that no river among the many in those parts of the world equals this in its size and depth, or in the fertility and pleasing appearance of its banks. It is an admirable thing to see that many of the numerous herbs which grow there (*que producen*) are good to eat, and their flowers in odor, form and color might grace cultivated gardens.

Sunday, 12. We set out, and I went by land looking at the great sugar mills and rice mills, and shooting birds with the rifle (*fusil*). Of these we made some good dishes.

³³ In commenting upon Gutiérrez de Lara's stay in New Orleans, Claiborne writes to Graham under date April 13, 1812: "No sooner was the arrival of this Man known in New Orleans, than several intriguers (believed to be acting under foreign influence) made attempts upon him;—But he prudently evaded all their efforts, and kept himself whilst here quite retired." *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 79-80.

³⁴ Up the Mississippi.

13. We sailed with contrary wind.

14. Today we have met—as every day—many flatboats (*chalanés*) which are coming down from the Province of Kentucky (*Quintoque*), and others, laden with ham, cotton, flour, and other provisions. The trade with New Orleans in these commodities is very great. All the multitude of vessels which come from all the world stock up with provisions and cargo solely from what comes down the Mississippi. It must be noted that they are many, for the foreign boats alone bring the state a revenue of a million dollars a year; and they do not pay duties for the products of the country, only for foreign, and for these only at the entrance into the harbor; afterward they pass through all the country without paying anything.

15. Today we came to the fort (*castillo*) of Baton Rouge (*Batón Rús*), and we spent the night at Point Coupée (*Puente cupé*) 10 leagues farther up.

16. Today we sailed with a good wind.

17. Today I landed to shoot; and I went very far up because of a lake, or arm of the river, which prevented my coming to the river bank; and I had to strip and swim across to wait for the boat. In crossing the said arm I escaped being caught by the alligators, for I did not see them until I realized that I was in the midst of them; but fortunately I crossed without mishap. I waited for the boat the whole afternoon; unfortunately it did not come to where I was; and I had to make a fire and settle down to sleep, tormented by the numerous mosquitos. In addition to this a furious panther (*tigre*) jumped out of the dense woods at midnight and attacked me; I could not shoot him because of the thick darkness of the night. On account of the danger to which I was exposed and on account of the numerous mosquitos I could not sleep.

18. Very early in the morning the boat came, and we sailed with a good wind, and arrived at the mouth of the Red River (*Rio Rojo*); we entered it, leaving the Mississippi.

Sunday, 19. After sailing a short while we came upon an arm of the said river which forms an island 13 leagues long; we entered it and sailed for ten leagues. All day I amused myself by shooting at the alligators, of which there are a great many.

20. Very early in the morning we entered the river, and at night we supped on alligator meat.

21. Today we rowed.

22. Today the same.

23. We rowed.

24. Today we arrived at the settlement of Rapides (*Del Rapi*), and the consul and I left the boat to travel by land; soon after Mr. Claiborne (*Clébon*),³⁵ who is the judge here, invited us to take a meal with him.

25. Today Mr. Miller (*Mélor*) invited us to eat and to sleep at his ranch, which is on the road which we took; he gave us horses; and four of the leading men accompanied us.

Sunday, 26. Today we spent the night at the house of a very famous Frenchman whose name is Mr. Auguste (*Augusto*) Baylio.

27. We spent the night near Natchitoches.

28. We arrived at 10 and lodged at an inn; and all the leading men began to visit us with the greatest deference, as is the custom in the

³⁵ Richard Claiborne, a distant relative of Governor Claiborne. See *Claiborne Letter Books*, *passim*, for correspondence, etc.

colonies of Spain in the case of those who come from the court (*Corte*).

29. Today I went to visit the commandant of the fort,³⁶ who received me in the manner I have already described; and he invited me to supper.

30. Today all the officers of the garrison (*tropa*) have visited us.

May

1. Today we accepted an invitation to take a meal.

2.

Sunday, 3. Every day we have invitations, and assuredly we shall have them until it is forgotten that I come from the government.

4.

5.

6. Today I received an invitation—to a banquet—from the captain of the fort.

7. Today I went in accordance with the invitation; they served a magnificent banquet (*gran comilitón*).

8.

9., Sunday, 10., 11. Knowing that the Indian nations are doing damage to the soldiers and citizens of San Antonio, I summoned the chief of the Caddo, as the supreme chief of the Indian nations, and I rebuked him for this; I ordered him to go immediately to tell the said nations in my name (*de mi parte*) to stop hostilities against the Spanish, and to await my orders as to what they should do in future. The said chief has recognized me as supreme chief, and has set out to comply with my orders.

12.

13. All the time passes in compliments.

14.

15. Today a French gentleman came to negotiate the matter, of which I shall speak presently in a note.

16.

Sunday, 17.

18. Today came the news from the [*Aurora*] that [Congress] has just conferred the command of the Army upon General Moró or Moreau,³⁷ a famous French general whom Bonaparte once took prisoner. Also the said *Aurora* published the spirited letter which the Secretary of War wrote in reply to the Minister of the King of England. In view of this the declaration of war is expected soon. Then, it is said, General Moró will march with a powerful army against the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Britain, which are toward the north, and belong to the King of England.

25. I went to the printing office to see printed a thousand copies of the proclamation³⁸ which goes to the Realm of Mexico; I was much inter-

³⁶ Perhaps Lieut. Augustus W. Magee, who soon after joined with Gutiérrez in the invasion of Texas.

³⁷ Jean Victor Moreau, who had been living in the United States since 1805. President Madison did offer him the command of the United States army; but he returned to Europe to fight Napoleon, and died on Sept. 2, 1813, of a wound received in the battle of Dresden.

³⁸ Possibly a broadside published under date June 1, 1812. Mrs. Hatcher, University of Texas archivist, has translated a document of this date, derived from the Archivo General y Público in Mexico City, from the transcript of "Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Años de 1810 y 1812, Salcedo, Manuel, Gob'or de Bejar",

ested in seeing the dexterity of the printers. I saw also a trowel-bayonet (*?trogel*)³⁹ which a very skilful Hungarian had made (*habrió*) of fine steel; he asked 30 pesos for his work. I went to mass at the Catholic Church of Saint Mary; I was gratified to see the immense number of Catholics who attend the Catholic temples. The bishop⁴⁰ preached in English; they say that he is a very wise man and a great orator. On the day when he preaches many Protestants come to hear him preach and to admire his great eloquence. At night I went to a Methodist church, and was impelled to marvel at the great number of them who were praying to the All-Powerful, in a manner at which I wondered. The priests (*sacerdotes*) preach with shouts, making gestures with their hands, and clapping their hands as if in applause (*como llenos de admiracion*); all to the end that the people be moved to pray to God for forgiveness of their sins. This they do so entirely from the heart that casting all their eyes to the ground they utter loud cries, shed tears; and the women faint. I, though evil, prayed to God our Lord, of His mercy to be pleased to shed upon these people a ray of His Divine Light.

tomo I., primera parte. "This letter", she adds, "with other documents in French and Spanish, was sent to the governor of Texas by Bernardo Montero, commandant at Nacogdoches. One of these, beginning with the words 'Jesus Maria y José' and signed 'J. A. T.' [*José Álvarez Toledo*], Philadelphia, very carefully and logically develops the idea that the source of all power lay in the people. These documents were brought into Texas by a deserter from the detachment at Natchitoches. They were seized by Montero and forwarded to Bexar." The last-named document, an original broadside, is in the collection of Henry R. Wagner, of San Francisco, Cal. A photoduplicate of Mr. Wagner's copy is in the University of Texas Library.

³⁹ This word has not been found in any dictionary to which I have had access, and may be supposed to be an imitation of an American word.

⁴⁰ There was at this time no bishop of the diocese of Louisiana; Bishop Peñalver had died in 1810; Bishop Du Bourg did not become apostolic administrator of the diocese till Aug. 18 of this year, nor bishop till 1815. Possibly the preacher was the vicar general of Louisiana, Rev. Louis Sibourd.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Les Civilisations Anciennes de l'Asie Mineure. Par FELIX SARTIAUX.
(Paris: Rieder. 1928. Pp. 80 and 60 plates. 16 fr. 50.)

A VERY compact volume of first initiation to the study of the ancient civilizations of Asia Minor. Without a word of preface or introduction the author proceeds, under four captions (to which for convenience's sake we shall refer as chapters I. to IV.), to outline in chronological sequence the various civilizations which in turn flourished in Asia Minor, each succeeding culture falling heir to the preceding one, adapting it to its own needs, enriching it with *apports* of its own, putting on it the imprint of its own genius.

After a first chapter (pp. 5-14) on the names of Asia Minor in antiquity, its general physical structure, and a short survey of the history of its exploration, the author, in chapter II. (pp. 15-36), passes in brief review: (1) the old Asianic civilization with marked Semitic influences (known to us indirectly and, if we may say, retrospectively from the Tell el-Amarna tablets, directly from the contemporary tablets of Kultépé) third millenary B.C.; (2) the Hittite civilization (wide-spread rock-carvings; excavations and tablets of Boghaz-Keui) second millenary B.C.; (3) the Achaean civilization (the Homeric Troja, the sixth out of the nine towns which in succession occupied the same famous site; introduction of the alphabetic writing in the Greco-Latin world) not clearly dated by the author; (4) the Phrygian civilization (capital. Gordiaeon, on the Sangarius; kings alternately called Gordias and Midas; rock-carvings of Ayaz-In and Arslan-Kaya) thirteenth to eighth century; (5) the Lydian civilization under the dynasties of the Atyads, the Heraclids and the Mermnads (Gyges, Cresus; American excavations, 1913-1914, on the Pactolus at Sardes) twelfth century to 546, date of the destruction of Sardes by the Persians.

Chapter III. (pp. 37-56) treats of the emigration of the Achaeo-Eolians, Ionians, and Dorians from Greece into the islands adjacent to the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor and the corresponding portions of the littoral, and the first efflorescence of the Greek genius on the Asiatic soil in the realms of art, letters, and science; chapter IV. (pp. 57-77), of the expansion of Hellenism throughout Asia as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, the book coming to an end with an outline of the Hellenistic civilization during the three centuries after Alexander's death.

The book is profusely illustrated. The first two plates are maps of Asia Minor (the second a repetition of the western part of the first on a

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larger scale, neither satisfactory); the others show sites of towns, plans of cities, reconstructions, statues, bas-reliefs, sarcophagi, cuneiform tablets, coins, etc. Each plate as a rule contains several subjects, with the result that some of the illustrations are entirely too small to be of real use. A good many are so distantly related to the point they are supposed to illustrate that they very well could be dispensed with. Of the plates as a whole, however, it may be said that they are creditably executed and well arranged for easy consultation.

We said this was a book of first initiation to the history of ancient civilizations in Asia Minor. We may further define our position by adding that it is neither a hand-book nor an introduction. Such as it is, however, it is not devoid of usefulness and interest, for those in particular in quest of general culture, and from this point of view it is to be regretted that it should be entirely isolated in the collection in which it is issued.

We wonder whether it is worth while to warn even the unsophisticated reader against some passages where the author evidently oversteps the limits of his subject and apparently those of his competence as well. I am sure he will find but few to share his regret (p. 61) that Hellenism, though it came within an inch of annexing Judaism, failed to do so and, thereby, "save Europe from the religious fanaticism which so terribly bore down on her history".

H. H.

La Cité Grecque. Par G. GLOTZ, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (L'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.) (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1928. Pp. xxii, 476. 30 fr.)

IN this little book the author tries to present to his readers the spirit of the Greek people as it found expression in their political institutions. Though the result is not primarily a handbook of Greek constitutional history, students who desire to know how the political machinery of the Greek *πόλις* worked will find the details they seek. Furthermore, the style of the author is so vivid that readers can easily imagine themselves participating in the various activities of the city state.

Professor Glotz begins by explaining that his interpretation of the origin and development of the *πόλις* is radically different from that given by Fustel de Coulanges in the *Cité Antique*. In Glotz's opinion there were three forces constantly at work in the *πόλις*, the family, the city, and the individual, and for each one of these forces there was a corresponding stage of development. In the first period, the city was composed of families who jealously guarded their inherited privileges and subjected their members to the collective interest. In the second period, the city, with the aid of the individual now emancipated, subordinated to itself the families of which it was composed. The third period was characterized by that excess of individualism which brought ruin to the city and made necessary territorial states larger than the *πόλις*.

The three major divisions of the book correspond with these three stages of development. In the first, entitled *La Cité Aristocratique*, we find chapters on the Homeric city, the origin and forms of oligarchy, its institutions, and the birth of democracy and tyranny. The heart of the book describes fifth-century Athens, for Athens is *La Cité Démocratique par excellence*. Finally *La Cité au Declin* describes changes which took place in the political and social life of the city state and the corruption of the democratic constitution which resulted from them. A chapter on the unification of Greece carries the reader through the fourth century leagues and confederations to the League of Corinth. The three stages are now nearly complete, for the author concludes with a chapter on the end of the Greek city.

Despite the emphasis which Athens receives, the book contains a wealth of material on the institutions of other Hellenic cities, culled from ancient authors and inscriptions. For its size, it includes a surprising amount of detail. Consequently, as there is abundant opportunity for error and divergence of opinion, I shall limit my criticism to two points illustrative of the author's methods. After describing (p. 225) the practice by which each of the ten Athenian tribes in their official order furnished a secretary during cycles of ten years, Glotz appends this note, *c'est ce que les épigraphistes appellent la loi de Ferguson*, with a reference to Brillant alone. Ferguson's monograph is nowhere mentioned.

About two years ago, an English reviewer of Glotz's *Histoire Grecque* criticized him for accepting Keil's views about the senatorial calendar. In the present treatise these theories are again presented without modification, not as theories, but as accepted facts. Such is the persistence of error. Furthermore, Keil is not credited with the authorship of these erroneous views. The reader is referred merely to Glotz's earlier work. The falsity of the theories, it may be noted, has since been amply demonstrated by Meritt's *Athenian Calendar* (cf. *A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 99 f.), published almost simultaneously with *La Cité Grecque*.

But the book will not be read because of its bibliography, extensive though it is. It will be studied rather because it offers an interpretation of the Greek *πόλις* written by a scholar who not only has given much thought to the problems of ancient democracy but also has the ability to present the evidence for his generalizations in a form which gives new life to the dry bones of ancient political institutions.

Historical Trials. By the late Sir JOHN MACDONELL, K.C.B., edited by R. W. LEE, D.C.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. xviii, 234. 10 s.)

THE preface to this volume amply attests the author's exceptional competence to write it. Nine lectures discuss the trials of Socrates, the Templars, Jeanne d'Arc, Bruno, Servetus, Galileo, Mary Stuart, Katharine of Aragon, and Raleigh. Another pictures the feudal anarchy in Auvergne which was repressed in the assizes of 1665-1666. Another

illustrates with trials from Scotland and Germany, including that of Kepler's mother, the witchcraft chapter in human thought and culture.

The professed intent was to contrast "systems of legal procedure". But a trial, in nature unique "and which even the lapse of more than two thousand years has not made less memorable", could not be typical of the Greek; and the trials of Mary and Raleigh present only in a sorrily exceptional way the English. The illustrations of inquisitional procedure, however, are ample basis for the author's useful characterizations of its general features (pp. 40-41, 48, 50-51, 74-77, 80). References to procedure are minimal, being confined to fundamentals: the composition of the court, the charge, the general nature of evidence admitted, and general conduct of the trial. Sir John's concern is with the problem of justice, and as presentations of that all the trials are excellent.

Of most of these (Joan's being a remarkable exception) the records are extremely unsatisfactory. The speech of Socrates, for example, could not possibly have been delivered as it appears in Plato. Even the charge is not always clear. Of Bruno's trial practically nothing is known; the verbose indictment of Servetus scarcely reveals the one essential—a crime against Geneva; as regards Socrates there are persistent doubts (Wetzel, *Haben die Ankläger des Sokrates Wirklich Behauptet dass er Neue Gottheiten Einführe?*)

There are greater difficulties. The word "trial" imports an unprejudiced hearing, rendering anachronistic its application to most of the *causes célèbres* here discussed, since they were political. The trials of Socrates, the Templars, Mary, Katharine, and Raleigh were plainly so: and those of Bruno and Galileo essentially, for the union of church and state, establishing opinions by law, turned into crimes the heresies of intellectual inquiry. The advancement of Calvin's political ends by the sacrifice of Servetus, if it did not enflame his malevolence, throws over the trial a cloud of political suggestion, as does the intervention of the English army commanders in the case of Joan.

Judged even by the law of their time and place the trials of Mary, Servetus, and Raleigh were grossly irregular. The rehabilitation proceedings, and the suppression of the Domrémy depositions (Sir John insufficiently emphasizes this: cf., Sepet, "Observations Critiques", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XCVI. 420) justify a like judgment of the trial of Joan.

Sir John's repudiation of the decision in other cases must proceed from modern concepts of justice. Apparently, Henry C. Lea would have pronounced improper their injection into such judgments of the past. But, does not that view lead us to the ineluctable conclusion that whatever was, was right? Socrates, for example, since contemporary opinion derived law from the gods, accepted as "just" whatever conformed thereto: but, for us, would law and justice therefore necessarily concur in his condemnation? Judgment on the charges against the Templars depends upon the value of evidence secured by torture, the use of which was then wholly "legal"; and Dr. Lea inconsistently rejected the evidence. It

was a doctrine fairly general in Elizabeth's time that a prince might for reasons of state take the life of a dangerous subject: yet, for us, her attempts to have Mary poisoned do not therefore throw less light upon the partiality of Mary's trial. On the other hand, Sir John totally excludes Mary's relation to Darnley's murder; which unduly honors the peculiarly strict rules of English law forbidding evidence of crimes "unconnected" with the one in trial. Space is lacking for the discussion of these fundamental questions.

Historians will find little new in the volume. Nevertheless, its judgments are exceptionally important, and its lessons in legal rationalism are invaluable. The author pronounces the condemnation of Socrates "an error" (p. 147); repudiates Prutz and exonerates the Templars; echoes, with Lord Shaw, Hosack's judgment that Mary's trial was "the most disgraceful of all the judicial iniquities which disgrace the history of England"; finds Raleigh's trials "marked from first to last by injustice and crime". The chapter on Servetus is particularly good. That on Katharine is unsatisfying; the legal issues are better discussed by Mr. Thurston in the *English Historical Review*, XIX. 632.

Many important secondary authorities are not cited, but their omission, with rare exceptions, is unimportant, for the book is written from the sources. Its superiority to the usual productions of lawyers can be appreciated by comparing the uncritical treatment of Mary's trial in Lord Birkenhead's *Famous Trials of History*.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Professor of Medieval History, University of Chicago. (New York and London: Century Company. 1928. Pp. ix, 900. \$5.00.)

THERE has long been a desire on the part of instructors and students of Medieval history for the kind of book which Professor Thompson has given us. For those who have awaited it with considerable interest this excellent volume offers few disappointments, if any indeed. There is no work in English approaching it in scope, scholarship, or general usefulness for Continental history, and in no language is there a similar work so broadly conceived and so soundly executed within convenient compass. From the decay of Roman prosperity to the close of the thirteenth century, where the work fittingly ends, there are almost no topics of interest to the student of social and economic history not touched upon, and everywhere the results of the most recent researches are made available. Conflicting theories and points of view are presented frequently; judgments of earlier writers are often corrected in the light of new study; the work of many writers on special fields is summarized and succinctly presented; the scholarly research of the author is evident as the foundation of much

of the volume, and especially of some of the best chapters. In accordance with the policy of the editors of the series of which it is a part, there are no foot-notes except to identify important quotations included in the text. These frequent quotations both from sources and important secondary works, be it said by the way, are well chosen, pertinent, and illuminating. The author's style is clear, smooth, and flowing, often enforced by trenchant touches. It is a book one can enjoy reading.

Among its many virtues that which stands out above the others, aside from the general excellences mentioned, is the emphasis placed upon the Church as a factor in the economic history of the Middle Ages. In addition to the chapters one would naturally expect on early monasticism, the new monastic orders of the later period, the Church and feudal society, all excellently done, the influences, good and bad, exerted by the Church on economic developments, are woven into other parts of the book in admirable fashion. One recalls reading works on the economic history of the Middle Ages in which the Church is all but ignored as a factor of importance. In this connection it will be surprising if the author is not thought by some readers to have leaned backward in the second chapter in his successful and justifiable attempt to disclose the evil effects on the early Church of its newly acquired wealth. He has not failed to convey his "sense of futility and disillusionment" in considering the Church in its first centuries of triumph when its spirit and temper were altered by the change from poverty to affluence, when it first became an exploiter of vast properties to remain such to the end of the Middle Ages. The most original chapter deals with the disruption of the Frankish Empire, where the author sketches convincingly his own theory that the partitions of the empire were "primarily distributions of the crown lands, from which everything else followed". The limits of the book forbade great elaboration of this interesting thesis, but the promise of a further development of it in a future work by the same author is given. The chapter on German eastward expansion and colonization is not only brilliantly written but in all probability could have only been so interestingly done by one conversant with the history of the American frontier. The reviewer knows no book in which the origins, development, and rôle of feudalism are exposed with such masterly clarity as "phenomena of social progress, not of social decline". The importance of the manor and peasant conditions receives recognition in proper proportion, but on the perplexing question of the origin of the manor it is doubtful if the readers of the book will be able to reconcile two passages. We read (p. 92): "But it would seem that the theory that social organization of the ancient Germans rested upon the association of free men with equal social status and equal values in land ownership is exploded." In the discussion of the origin of the manor (pp. 731-732) the author, despite cautionary words and phrases, leaves the reader with the impression that the theory is far from being exploded. Towns and guilds are adequately treated, but the chapter on this subject, after an excellent discussion of the various theories of town origins followed by a careful analysis of the complex social

and economic forces which produced the towns and guilds, does not fulfill in interest of treatment the promise contained in the finer pages on the growth of Lombard towns in the chapter on Italy during the Crusades. One had looked forward to this later chapter as containing, so to speak, the climax of the book in interest, but the author seems here to have failed to rise to his opportunity.

No doubt workers in special fields will be able to point out minor errors in the wealth of factual statement. One might question the value of the frequent statement of the equivalent of Medieval sums in American dollars without explanation of the method used. The statement (p. 579) that bargains and contracts made on shipboard could not be enforced on land is untrue, as is also the implication that the loss of a merchant's goods by jettison was borne entirely by the ship instead of being charged against the ship and the other merchants on board (p. 580). The thirteenth-century Genoese gold coin was a florin, not a ducat (pp. 405, 415). Tana is at the mouth of the Don (p. 419), not of the Dniester (p. 423). The reviewer would be glad to be as certain as the author that the square rig was in general use on Mediterranean vessels before the fourteenth century (p. 577). Surely the best opinion is that the periodic cry at the fairs, certainly in Champagne, was "hare" not "haro" (p. 593). But the reviewer grows pedantic.

The charts and maps are good even if the latter are not always conveniently placed. The only significant error in proof-reading in the book destroys the present value of the map facing p. 182. The economic map of Europe at the end should have been as complete as possible, instead of omitting so many important places mentioned in the text.

The book will not only be widely used at once in colleges and universities, but it will be enjoyed. Not often does a book of this character have such literary style as to prove attractive to those who are not students of the period. Professor Thompson's book has that quality, as the reviewer can already testify.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.

Von Dr. JOSEPH KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Erster band, *Das Mittelalter*. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, ed. G. von Below and F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. x, 351. Unbound, 14 M.; bound, 16 M.)

THIS notable contribution to economic history is a revised translation of a work that has already gone through seven editions in Russian. It is thus not an entirely new work, but the results of recent research have been carefully utilized. The bibliographies contain references to works issued in 1927 and the text includes large masses of material dating from 1923-1924 with some references to later works. In content as in method it is a notable achievement, representing German historical scholarship

at its best; the points of view of constitutional and economic historians are happily combined. The present work is commanding evidence of the fruitfulness of the influence of Roscher, Schmoller, and Bücher. Latterly much severe criticism has justly been made of this school of writers, but the present work shows clearly that this school has made a large and permanent contribution to economic history which extends far beyond the limitations of the schematic generalizations and doctrines that have dominated many controversies over the interpretation of economic organization and development.

The primary generalizations upon which the text is professedly based are those of Bücher: notably, the concept of the self-contained household and the concept of a town economy based upon unenlightened municipal selfishness. To these must be added the common Germanic assumption of the essentially Teutonic character of the cultural history of Northwestern Europe. These basic ideas, however, have been subjected to extensive critical revision. The notion of the self-contained household is qualified in such a way as to reconcile the concept with the existence of a certain amount of trade throughout the early Middle Ages. Similarly, the preponderance of Teutonic elements in the development of feudal institutions does not preclude the recognition of various Roman elements as subsidiary factors. The town economy which becomes dominant by the twelfth century is described with more critical regard for known facts than was shown by Bücher. It is no longer identified with custom production for a local market. Kulischer also rejects Bücher's notion of a development of a system of craft work out of wage work, and the importance of the character of the raw materials of the different occupations is frankly recognized. A considerable number of towns are shown to have been dependent upon long-distance trade, which involved not only raw materials but also highly manufactured products. In many places these export commodities were produced under essentially capitalistic conditions under the putting-out system. All idealization of these Medieval towns is abandoned: wealth is shown to have been highly concentrated in the hands of a small patrician group and the condition of the general mass of the people was genuinely unfavorable. The evils of economic exploitation were aggravated by general social neglect.

Although the author treats these modifications of Bücher's views as qualifications which do not affect their substance, in reality the analysis of industrial forms and the history of trade and commercial organization amount to a complete abandonment of the old position. The author has made careful use of Heyd, Schaube, Schulte, Stieda, and recent monographic studies on the technical development of navigation and ship-building. In the past, this material has been very inadequately utilized in general texts so that it has not been fully assimilated, and even in the present work the primary conclusions have been utilized without realization of all the implications. Keen regard for critically established facts, however, has carried the author far beyond the limitations of the interpretative

doctrines of the nationalists, and the value of the work, therefore, can not be adequately indicated by any description of the seemingly underlying doctrines.

The work gains in strength, too, by the felicity with which the critical method is followed. Without falling into the temptation of writing a mere history of what others have thought, Professor Kulischer summarizes with notable compression the divergent views on all primary issues, with brief but cogent indications of the grounds for accepting the position adopted. One has, therefore, the sense of the need of developing a body of knowledge by a process of rational criticism, all too frequently lost in much French and English writing in which the criticism of the materials is sacrificed to direct exposition and narrative. The text is thoroughly equipped with notes, and the primary divisions of the work are furnished with brief bibliographies which are extremely well selected.

Although the views of the German nationalists have not precluded full critical appreciation of outstanding literature, the older views have in some respects restricted the interests of the author, so that some important problems of economic history have been ignored. The analysis of agrarian problems is dominated by the older concepts. We find no inkling of the broader formulation of these questions that were at last adequately developed by Weber. The recent work of Weber could scarcely have been available in time to permit the author to make extensive use of it, but it is fairly evident that the author was not working along similar lines and that he was willing to confine his efforts to the discussion of the problem as it was defined at the close of the last century.

Important limitations of interest appear also in regard to the geographical concepts that dominate the text. It is tacitly assumed that the theatre of Medieval history is Northwest Europe. There are allusions to Italy and to Spain, but for the most part there is nothing to suggest that they played a larger part in the affairs of the Medieval "world" than they do in the "world" of today. The discussion of commerce necessarily requires some reference to the Levant, but it is treated as a region external to the real Medieval "world". We thus find here the implications that have long been so serious a handicap to an adequate economic history: Northwest Europe is made the focus of attention throughout the period; the Christian world is set over against the Moslem world; there is no recognition of the climatic and physiographic differences between the Mediterranean countries and Northwest Europe; no recognition of the preponderant importance of the Mediterranean countries down to the close of the thirteenth century. The analysis of geographic factors in history, which has been so happily developed by Vidal de la Blache and his school, has exerted little influence upon the present text. Full recognition of the economic and cultural significance of interregional contacts throughout the historical period would, of course, require a complete and conscious abandonment of all the premises of the nationalists.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Disertaciones y Opúsculos de Julián Ribera y Tarragó, de las Reales Academias Española y de la Historia. Edición colectiva que en su jubilación del profesorado le ofrecen sus discípulos y amigos [1887-1927]. Con una introducción de Miguel Asín Palacios, de las Reales Academias Española, de la Historia y de Ciencias Morales y Políticas. Tomo I., *Literatura, Historia y Cultura Árabe, lo Científico en la Historia*; tomo II., *Historia de la Música, Historia Árabe Valenciana, el Problema de Marruecos, Enseñanza y Miscelánea.* (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre. 1928. Pp. cxvi, 638; viii, 796.)

ATTENTION has already been drawn in this *Review* (XXXIII. 78 f.) to the remarkable contribution which the Spanish school of Arabists and historians is making to our knowledge of the civilization not only of the Spanish people but of Medieval Europe. It has been the distinguishing mark of that school of Arabists since its beginning that it did not stop short at philology and literature, or even at Mohammedan history and Arabic thought, but that it gave its greatest effort to understanding and elucidating (1) the very mingled civilization which arose in Spain as a consequence of the Moslem conquest and (2) the influences which went out from Spain and affected all southern Europe. On the one hand, this school has recognized how mixed was the Spanish Medieval civilization and how Spain itself was a bridge for all manner of Oriental influences to enter Europe and, on another, and in consequence of this, it has laid its greatest stress on sociology and history, tracing, in a multitude of ways, developments by influence and imitation in legal and constitutional institutions, in philosophical and theological thought, in popular poetry, lyric and epic, in literature broadly, and in music in detail, rather than confining itself, as so many Arabic schools have done, to Arabic philology and the old Arabian and the later Moslem literature. The members of that school have been fully conscious that their inheritance as Spaniards contained certain fructifying Oriental elements and they have felt fully assured that the history of the Medieval European civilization must be restudied and rewritten in the light of the assured facts which they have now brought forward. How, in that final rewriting, the whole matter will be stated no one can yet be certain; but it is quite certain that the Medievalist must now definitely take Spain and Spanish into his circle and must even learn to be a bit of an Arabist and Orientalist as well. For it has been demonstrated that, in the Medieval world, the civilization on all the shores of the Mediterranean in many respects was essentially one, and that to a degree which has never held true since. National and racial prejudices and *amour propre* may continue for a time to hold theories of spontaneous, parallel development, but these will become gradually less and less tenable as the evidence is known, studied, and accepted and as case after case of logically impossible coincidence is cumulatively proved. The proof must be a highly cumulative one to overcome the

immense inertia of ignorance against which it is brought. It is not polite, of course, amongst scholars, to speak of "ignorance" but in this case it can hardly be avoided. The three sacred "languages of learning", English, German, and French, have, it is true, been expanded by the addition of Italian and Dutch, but Spanish is still without the pale. Students of the Medieval world must frankly and fully take it in and acquaint themselves with the facts which are to be found only in Spanish, and must realize further that their science can not be on a sound basis until some at least of their number have added Arabic studies. It is no impossible task for a scholar whose memory is still linguistically plastic to learn in a few months to read ordinary Arabic prose. To become an Arabist in the technical sense means, of course, years; but that is another matter. To put the point shortly, Spanish and Arabic are now for the European Medievalist two necessary "tool" languages.

As an introduction, whether linguistically or historically, to these studies nothing could be better than the present two volumes of the collected, miscellaneous writings of Professor Ribera. Following in the footsteps of his master Codera, whose collection of Spanish Moslem coins is now in the Library of the Hispanic Society in New York, he has been the second founder of this Spanish school and by far the weightiest influence in giving to it its specific character. A disciple of his, again, Professor Asín Palacios, now, perhaps, more widely known than even his master Ribera for his elaborate study of the *Divina Comedia*—quite fairly demonstrating its dependence on Moslem sources and setting all the Dantists by the ears—has prefixed, in a hundred-page introduction, a life and character of Ribera and an analysis of his methods, ideas, and achievements as teacher, student, and expositor of a wide variety of themes. For Ribera has been no cloistered scholar, but, from natural disposition and from the necessity of vindicating the claims of Spanish Arabists to be of use to their country, he has had to engage in diverse struggles with his government. When we wonder at the indifference of this country towards the services which may be rendered by specialists in the historical sciences, it is well to read here how all through its Moroccan troubles the Spanish government felt no need of a knowledge of Arabic and Islam in its officials stationed in Africa. And, in truth, the experiences of this one school, face to face with political officialism, throw a flood of light on the present situation in Spain. On another side, also, Ribera was led by his Arabic studies to conflict with accepted modern situations. He had observed the malign influence upon education of control and direction by the state. Certificates were required for a state career; certificates meant examinations; examinations meant cast-iron courses of study and mechanical methods of teaching. In consequence the whole, in his eyes, pseudo-science of pedagogy has become a *bête noire* for him and he constantly calls us back to his ideal of the master practising his science or his art as he teaches it to a small circle of disciples and teaching it to them by practising it before their eyes. So the Greeks and the early founders of the sciences of Islam had practised and taught and

we have all probably sighed for those truly good old days. Finally, the last 150 pages of these volumes reprint Professor Ribera's contributions in periodicals, during the dark days of Spain in the first five years of this century, to the essential rebuilding of the national character in heart and mind.

But, to return to the history of the remoter past, there are reprinted here, among other shorter papers, (1) his epoch-making study of the Cancionero of Abencuzman showing the part played by the mixed lyric of Andalusia in the general development of the Medieval lyric, especially in Provence; (2) his similar study of the contribution of epic narrative poems in Andalusia to the French historical romances; (3) the origins of the philosophy of Raimund Lull; (4) an elaborate study of libraries and bibliography generally in Moslem Spain, with a shorter paper on a separate collection of Arabic and aljamia manuscripts; (5) a still more extended study of education in Moslem Spain; (6) reprints of his introductions to certain important Arabic texts dealing with Spanish history; (7) his elaborate answer to the question, What is History? In the second volume the first 174 pages are given to a reprint of his studies of the music of the Cantigas of Alfonso the Wise, supplemental to his basal work on the subject, a large folio of five hundred pages, forming one volume of the great edition of the Cantigas, *La Musica de las Cantigas*. This last has not been reprinted, as a popular edition of it appeared last year and English and German translations will shortly appear. The thesis of all these is that the popular music of Southern Europe, the *musica ficta*, like the lyric and the historical romances of Southern Europe, are to be traced back to Andalusia and thence through the Arabic and Persian music to Byzantium and Greece. It is a gigantic and far-reaching thesis full of implications for the history of institutions, ideas, and usages and based ultimately on Ribera's great principle of imitation, as opposed to spontaneous parallel origin, in human progress. This principle of imitation and tradition is here worked out with the greatest fullness of knowledge, learning, and sympathy; his treatment is one of the classical vindications of the position of this school of folklore. Similar to it in method and detail are his studies of the legal institutions of Aragon and of the history of education. Next in the second volume comes a reprint of a long series of studies in the Arab history of Valencia. Here, in the very territory of *Mio Cid*, the Garden (*huerta*) of Valencia, Ribera is on his own soil, a land-owner and a farmer, and these shorter studies are filled with the flavor of the soil and the glamor of historic names and memories. He goes up and down here in Valencia, much as Scott in his day went up and down in his own Border side. His articles on the problem of Morocco bring us back to the modern situation and to Ribera's vain fight to persuade the politicians that knowledge of Arabic and Islam was essential to the solution of that problem. The next 200 pages are reprints of articles on education which range from the ancient history of state-directed education, as Ribera has traced it, to the present Spanish situation. The materials for his great history of edu-

cation, literally from China to Peru, have been collected, but the history itself is still to be written. Yet here there is much of suggestion and warning to us in our own tyranny of examinations and closed systems.

It will now be plain that in these two volumes we have the picture and the record of a personality; a scholar and a man of books; a leader and a man of affairs; a farmer in contact with the soil and a teacher in contact with the hearts and minds of a devoted school of disciples; a man of infinite powers of labor with hand and brain, in skilled relation to many arts and crafts from music to lithography and photography; and, above all, a man of vitality, able to turn all these to account in the service of his country and the vindication of her history, and in the clarification of the history of civilization. If any historian or Medievalist is in doubt let him turn to and read these pages for himself.

D. B. MACDONALD.

History of the Byzantine Empire. By A. A. VASILIEV. In two volumes. Volume I., *From Constantine the Great to the Epoch of the Crusades, A.D. 1081.* Translated by Mrs. S. RAGOZIN. [University of Wisconsin Studies, Social Sciences and History, no. 13.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin. 1928. Pp. 457. \$3.00.)

OF the increasing number of text-books which have flooded the market in recent years, quite a few have devoted some place to Near Eastern conditions and some have made the history of the eastern end of the Mediterranean the main theme of their narrative. Several brief sketches of Byzantine history in particular are available, the best of which is undoubtedly that by Charles Diehl. Intermediate between these and the larger general histories, a gap has intervened which has only been partially closed by the *Cambridge Medieval History*. In spite of the undoubted merits of this work (in particular vol. IV.) it is none the less the product of many hands and lacks the coherent presentation which proceeds from a single mind.

Professor Vasiliev's book fills this gap extremely well. It is what the others are not—a course of lectures on the subject, individual, careful, and coherent. Professor Vasiliev's competence in this particular field is known to all Medievalists and questioned by none. His works on Byzantine-Arab relations in the ninth and tenth centuries are indispensable to all scholars in this field, and he enjoys that distinction, so rare among Medievalists, of being a competent Arabist as well. The translation is all the more desirable, as the Russian original, which was issued just before the outbreak of the Revolution, is extremely difficult to obtain. One or two features of the book deserve a more detailed notice. Chapter I. gives an extremely useful survey of the historiography of the subject which, to the reviewer's knowledge, is not to be found anywhere else. A large number of historians are treated in considerable detail. Some use-

ful information, previously quite difficult to obtain, is given about the Russian historians of Byzantium. The second chapter of the book, covering from Constantine to Justinian, is distinctly slighter, and chapter III., Justinian to Heraclius, while fuller, can be subjected to some criticism. I miss in particular an evaluation of E. Stein's hypothesis about the militarization of Asia Minor during the period from 590 to 628. The most valuable part of the book is chapters IV. and V., in which a detailed account is given of the development of the empire from 610 to 867. This is a period which is covered connectedly only in the second volume of the first edition of Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, which he never lived to revise. The final chapter, which deals with the Macedonian dynasty and the troubled period of the eleventh century, is again more cursory.

Some criticism might be made of the arrangement of the materials. The compressed reviews of the dynasties, I should think, ought either to be fuller or merely take the form of lists. The brief sketches of art and literature likewise fall between two stools. The general effect is rather too obviously schematic.

The book is one which will be distinctly useful to those who are either teaching or studying Byzantine history, for it forms much the best foundation for a course of lectures that has yet been available. Secondly, it will be most useful for those who are endeavoring to obtain a coherent picture of the Byzantine Empire as an entity in itself and not as an unwilling annex to other civilizations. The language and style, apart from an occasional reminiscence of the Slavic original, are clear and sober. The typography is impeccable. We hope that the new volume will tend to increase the numbers of the growing group who are interested in the checkered history of the Romaic empire.

ROBERT P. BLAKE.

Det Danske Folks Historie. Redigeret af AAGE FRIIS, AXEL LINVALD, M. MACKEPRANG. Bind I., *Det Danske Folk i Oldtiden*, af J. BRØNDSTED, VILH. LA COUR, og JOHANNES STEENSTRUP; bind II., *Det Danske Folk i den Ældre Middelalder*, af JOHANNES STEENSTRUP og JØRGEN OLRİK; bind III., *Det Danske Folk i den Yngre Middelalder*, af JØRGEN OLRİK og C. P. O. CHRISTENSEN. (Copenhagen: Chr. Erichsen. 1927-1928. Pp. xiv, 438; xiv, 349; xiv, 419. 14.50 kr. a volume, bound.)

THE appearance of this eight-volume history of the Danish people is a notable event in Northern European historiography. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, perhaps the most sumptuous work of its kind in the past generation, was completed nearly twenty-two years ago. That work is still useful to the scholar, though it lacks that prime requisite of a scientific work, a critical bibliography. Nor was it written in a style that would hold the attention of the general reader. The present work is a popular history in the best sense; it is a conscious attempt to portray the history

of the Danish *people*; and it has conceded to the scholar a certain apparatus of bibliography that will guide him readily to some of the important printed sources used by the authors. The output of Danish and Northern European scholars, especially in the fields of philology, archaeology, and folklore, and in monographic material such as appears regularly, for example, in *Historisk Tidsskrift* and in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, is impressive for the period since 1906, and its quality suggests that a new synthesis of Danish history would be a timely enterprise. The present work will be perhaps three-fourths the length of its predecessor, and it should be complete by the close of 1929. There is much fresh illustrative material in the volumes that have thus far appeared. Besides photographic reproductions of Medieval buildings, frescoes from parish churches, coins, seals, old wood cuts, and early paintings, there are many items from the great collection of antiquities in the National Museum, of which one of the editors, Dr. Mackeprang, is the present head. Fresh cartographic material would have been most welcome; but no single work can atone for the lack of a scientific historical atlas of the North. The map of Denmark's earliest administrative divisions is taken from *Danmarks Riges Historie*, volume I., and was in turn largely based on a map prepared about a century ago.

Volume I. opens with a chapter by Knud Jessen on the physical and natural history of Denmark. The author discusses (p. 29) the geological time-charts worked out by De Geer, which present definite proof on the basis of a study of clay deposits that an interval of 14,000 years has elapsed since the inland ice cap lay over southern Scania, and make possible the correlation of geological data with early human history. Svend Aakjaer gives an interesting account of the relation of the Danish language to other Indo-European languages, and on the basis of philological studies now available on Hittite, Sumerian, and other Asiatic dialects, concludes that the Aryans came from the northeast of the Mesopotamian states, south of Turkestan, probably from the regions lying between the Caspian Sea and Hindukusch-Pamir. He summarizes the discoveries of Vilhelm Thomsen, who, in his studies of Finnish and Lappish, found numerous loan words that give clues to the Gothic of the time before the Ulfilas Bible (ca. 325 A.D.). The archaeologist, J. Brøndsted, gives a fascinating account (I. 103-260) of what his science is able to show of the life of primitive man in Denmark. This section has perhaps more new material than any other, and the author has appended a valuable bibliographical essay. The theories of Rostovtzeff pointing to the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes of southern Russia and southwest Asia as the disseminators of animal ornamental designs common to the Celts, Scandinavians, and other widely scattered peoples, have perhaps come out too recently to be discussed here. The origin of the Danish people and their oldest history as revealed in literary sources is set forth by Vilhelm La Cour (I. 261-354) on the basis of the most recent investigations.

The early Middle Age, including the Viking period, is presented by the veteran of many historical conflicts, Professor Steenstrup (I. 357-439; II. 1-222). Here, as in his volume in *Danmarks Riges Historie*, he lays much stress on tradition, and some on debatable runic inscriptions, to supplement the paucity of documents. Many of his conclusions are ingenious and suggestive, but his method has drawn the fire of Professor Erslev (*cf. Historisk Tidsskrift*, VI. 1-53) and other representatives of the newer critical school of historical writing. The period from 1340 to 1439 on the revival of the kingdom and the history of the Calmar Union is treated with clarity and sound understanding by Jørgen Olrik (II. 223-349; III. 1-138) who had the difficult task of gleaning where Erslev had garnered. Some question might be raised as to whether King Hans's brief tenure of the Swedish throne (1497-1501) and the rising tide of opinion in Sweden that prevented its being regained must not in part be explained as the repercussion of the Finnish—and Swedish—border question. The presence of Russian envoys in King Hans's train and their perhaps inadvertent revelation of the Russo-Danish treaty of 1493 (III. 178-179) was certainly used by Sten Sture and the independence party with considerable effect. The Church in the "late Catholic" period receives a sympathetic and judicious exposition at the hands of C. P. O. Christensen. The rich and varied spiritual life of the time, as mirrored in interior wall-paintings, in towers and arches, in prayers and postils, even in great scholarly projects appropriate to the dawn of humanism, shows a religious community that has little to suggest the proximity of the schism in the Latin Christian world that was so soon to follow. The sixty-five years that have elapsed between the appearance of C. F. Allen's work on the break-up of the Union, and the penetrating, unbiassed account of Christensen, mark a long step forward in scientific historical scholarship in the Scandinavian North. The volumes that have appeared are worthy examples of successful combination of popular presentation with scientific detachment.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

History of England. By W. E. LUNT, Professor of History in Haverford College. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xviii, 900. \$4.25.)

England: a History of British Progress from the Early Ages to the Present Day. By CYRIL E. ROBINSON, Winchester College. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 892. \$5.00.)

THESE books supply much material for a study in contrasts as regards emphasis and methods of presentation. Widely different in most respects they supplement each other in many ways.

Professor Lunt has produced an important addition to the rapidly growing list of college text-books in English history. Eminently qualified for the task by many years of teaching and extensive research in the

field, he has written a scholarly and well-balanced history of England. The Middle Ages get a generous share of the 818 pages of text, and with the close of the Tudor period we are about halfway through the book. Each of the succeeding three centuries receives approximately an equal amount of space. The story is carried through the recent war and it ends with the election of 1924. The years of the twentieth century are, of course, treated more fully than any earlier epoch of similar length.

By giving a considerable amount of attention to the Medieval times Professor Lunt differs from several of the recent writers of English history texts. In the opinion of the reviewer this reversal to earlier practices is wholesome. But he feels also that in any treatment of the modern period the greater complexity of England's social, economic, and imperial relations in the nineteenth century, when compared with its immediate predecessors, demands that it shall be favored in the allotment of space.

The book has several maps and genealogical tables, a good index, and an excellent critical and up-to-date bibliography; but no illustrations.

Professor Lunt writes for American students who can not be expected to possess any previous knowledge of English history. The story is carefully organized and clearly told. However, in places it may prove rather heavy for the average college freshman.

Mr. Robinson has been and is a teacher at Winchester. His students know something beforehand about their country and its past. Nearly every page of his book bears witness to the fact that it has been written by an Englishman who is also a teacher of young Englishmen. He intends to relate the story of England's progress. This goal is a bit nebulous, but he has certainly succeeded in telling the saga of England's achievements in peace and war—especially the latter. Professor Lunt's interests are centred mainly on the constitutional aspects of English history, Mr. Robinson's on the political. Art, literature, constitutional development, and social and economic conditions receive attention, but none of these holds the centre of the stage—it is given to wars, battles, campaigns, heroic exploits on land and sea. For instance, more space is devoted to Richard I. and the Third Crusade than to his father's work in reorganizing the English government. Mr. Robinson writes with zest and his book is full of color. Both persons and events are at times vividly portrayed—the type of pictures boys especially enjoy. When he condemns it is without hesitation, when he praises he does not stint. In many places where Professor Lunt is cautious and reserved Mr. Robinson sees his way clear. As an illustration, the former describes Robert Curthose as weak, speaks of James II.'s gravity and industry, and passes no stricture on Marlborough's character; but Mr. Robinson calls both the Conqueror's eldest son and the last Stuart King fools and declares (p. 355) "that in Marlborough's character honour had no place". The American historian says (p. 102) that William II. "met his death from an arrow shot by an unknown hand", while the English asserts (p. 56) that the fatal missile was shot by Tyrell, a member of the king's suite.

Professor Lunt's book is remarkably free from errors and misprints—"ceorls", top of p. 69, and "Sweden" for Sweden and Norway, map facing p. 652, are among the few noted. But Mr. Robinson's does not stand the test so well. It is rather surprising to find him speaking of a Canadian constitution of 1842 (p. 677) and a "British General Election of 1905" (p. 689). His discussion of the causes of the last war and of "Allied and Enemy Ideals" shows that the "revisionists" have made no impression upon him.

Mr. Robinson begins his book with the Roman occupation without any preliminary discussion of English geography and in parts he takes for granted an elementary acquaintance with English history. The book contains many and very good illustrations, numerous maps and plans, convenient summaries and chronological tables, a bibliography briefer than Professor Lunt's but having more references to novels of interest to the student of history. The index is excellent.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

Éléments d'Introduction Générale à l'Étude des Sciences Juridiques.

II^e partie, *Le Système Juridique de l'Angleterre*, tome I., *Le Système Traditionnel*. Par HENRI LÉVY-ULLMANN, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit à l'Université de Paris, Vice-Président de l'Académie Internationale de Droit Comparé. (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1928. Pp. 574. 50 fr.)

THE title hardly suggests a book dealing principally with the sources of English law. The ground-plan involves three divisions, dealing respectively with common law, statute law, and equity. Among the various topics discussed at length are the Anglo-Norman laws and customs, organization of courts, the bar, precedent, the declaratory theory, judicial records, reports and abridgments, treatises of authority, the receptions of Roman law, law merchant, Parliament, types of legislation, doctrine of the supremacy of law, periods of legislative activity, literary sources of statute law, origin and development of equity law.

The present volume is the successor in point of time, but not in logical connection, to one published in 1917 (pp. 176) dealing with the definition of law. In the list of publications of the author appearing in the earlier volume there is a notice of an "encyclopédie du droit" stated to be in preparation and designed as the second issue of this series. We have found no explanation of the change in the author's plan of publication. This digging up of old bones is not without point. We shall state it shortly. In 1917 there were available Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, Jenks's *Short History*, *The Anglo-American Select Essays*, and three volumes of Holdsworth's *History*, to name the principal items of a class. There did not appear to be any specific work at that time dealing in detail with the sources, unless we except Gray's *Nature and Sources of Law* (1909). Of course the story was even then available, but in unsystematic form. There was actual need of such a treatise and

it was no doubt the very laudable purpose of the author to supply it, putting aside the project of the "encyclopédie" (juristic survey). When, after laboring for several years on the present volume, the task was near completion, there appeared in quick succession the treatises on the sources by Holdsworth (1925) and by Winfield (1925), six new volumes of Holdsworth's *History* (1923-1926), and, still more recently, Allen's book on the sources, under the title *Law in the Making* (1927). The author himself discloses in his preface this unexpected development, and he is generous enough to express his satisfaction. It is easy to believe, however, that the situation presented difficulties, but we believe the author has solved them in the right way by making such use of the new material as was necessary and by issuing his book. From a purely selfish and provincial standpoint, one might have wished, however, that the author had adhered to his original plan of an "encyclopédie". That would have been something of a novelty for French juristic literature and a thing to be desired by American and English students of law, even though it must be admitted that the fashion for juristic encyclopaedias seems to have passed. In any event, the proposed encyclopaedia may come later, and in the meantime, the present work (to be completed by another volume) will be of great value to French students, although it can hardly displace, for English readers, even with differences in treatment, the books now available in English.

The author has long been interested in English law and, as might be expected of one of his learning and talents, the volume now under review exhibits satisfying competence and industry. A system of law, decentralized in its operations and pontifical in its difficulties, as was until very recent times, and still continues to be in spirit, the English law, presents magnificent obstacles of approach to those trained in continental Europe. The author has spared no pains to penetrate the difficulties. His documentation leaves nothing to be suggested that the author himself has not considered, and here there is room for differences of opinion. It would, for example, have appeared to the reviewer that Gray's book on the sources would have been found valuable on certain points touching precedent and statute. The discussion, though brief in compass, of the three receptions of Roman law seems to us to be a clear and sound statement of the matter. When comparisons are made in detail on a large scale of English and Roman law, one can not resist the belief that the extent of the reception is greater than is commonly believed. In the treatment of the doctrine of supremacy of law, the author, we believe, has fallen short of the statement of one of the most significant of the practical issues for purposes of comparison; namely, the absence of administrative courts in our law. The scope of the book did not perhaps make possible, in the same connection, consideration of the principle of constitutionality of legislation. The jury system receives but scant treatment and a foreign lawyer would hardly be able to measure its social significance and its causation in the development of our procedure.

Of the numerous books published in France in recent years dealing with English law, the present volume is one of the best informed.

ALBERT KOCOUREK.

Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals. By T. F. Tout, Litt.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of the University of Manchester. Volumes III. and IV. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, nos. XLVIII. and XLIX.] (Manchester: University Press; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xviii, 495; xvi, 484. 30 s. each.)

AFTER an interval of several years since the earlier parts were written, it is not surprising to find that the author's plan has grown considerably, so that it is yet to be concluded by a fifth volume containing certain supplementary chapters together with a general index. With the main body of the work thus before us, there need be no hesitation in recognizing it as a signal contribution, original and stimulating, thoroughly representative of a school of history that has but lately come to its own in England. Far from being entirely new, much of the material indeed has been anticipated in the manifold studies of pupils and colleagues whom it is a delight to honor. Among these special mention is made of Dr. Dorothy Broome, who has been the constant collaborator of her teacher in all his recent labors.

In the period now held in view, the king's chamber and wardrobe no longer stand forth as the organs of a private administration in distinction from the public departments of the chancery and the exchequer. Abandoning the aims that had proved fatal to his father, the policy of Edward III. was to bring all the organs of government into an essential unity, with an accepted division of labor between them. Not that the perennial rivalry of barons and courtiers ceased, for there recurred sharp crises to recall that the spirit of the lords ordainers was by no means dead, though it might be temporarily placated by a liberal distribution of patronage. Naturally the strain of war was the greatest influence of centralization. The Scottish wars drew a range of offices to the north, and again the war with France required a southern capital, at the same time causing one subdivision after another to be made between the organizations remaining at home and those taken abroad. Even the king's council at times shows a group following the king apart from the body stationed at Westminster. Of the two household offices the chamber, attended by the king's special confidants, although it was deprived of all financial independence, continued with irrepressible vitality to wield the greater influence. The wardrobe on the other hand, operative in several branches, while dealing with a vast amount of business both at home and abroad, was reduced to routine functions. How far a domestic establishment might be converted

to new and strange uses is shown in its activities as a military commissariat. By a similar turn the so-called privy wardrobe becomes a factory for munitions.

In cutting a swath so wide, one inevitably touches upon many debatable points. The whole tendency of the work indeed may be regarded as a reaction against the juridical school that has long held the field unchallenged. In a sequence of argumentative foot-notes, with many a sharp thrust, Professor Tout contends that the juristic historians have at times overdrawn their bow. Thus there is called in question the "doctrine" of Professor McIlwain that the High Court of Parliament connoted a judicial rather than a legislative supremacy. It is true as our author observes that "*curia*" did not in medieval phrase mean necessarily a law-court; nor was the name in this connection frequently invoked. More positively the lords claimed for themselves the status of judges, and as regards their actions which speak louder than words, there is nothing herein to disprove that the stress was preëminently judicial. Again, considering the chancery in its equitable jurisdiction, no jurist will agree to its classification as a "law-court". Still further, among numerous allusions to the king's council, an effort backed by an impressive array of citations is made to assign the great council a distinctive place apart from the council in its usual form. Allowing for conflicting evidence the net result is nothing more definite than what has been known before. Unfortunately in drawing distinctions too sharply the old discredited name of "ordinary council" is revived. The term is objectionable not merely because of the utter lack of contemporary sanction, but more strongly because it later applies to a very different body, namely the councillors of judicial capacity. Exception may also be taken to the rendering of the formula *per petitionem de consilio* as "on petition of the council". Such a petition in fact was one passed upon, rather than framed by, the council; the ambiguity of course is due to the want of an adjective in Latin for "conciliar petition". One may mislike such expressions as "to take council", "divided in council", etc., without danger of misunderstanding. • Not to mention slips of the pen, a correction that may help to straighten a later chapter is that of the two chanceries belonging to the dukes of Lancaster the first to be established was the chancery of the palatinate, before the positive appointment of a ducal chancellor, who, when he was not elsewhere attending the duke, resided in London. The promise of a treatment of the small seals, one of the most original features of the book, will be fulfilled in the final volume.

J. F. BALDWIN.

Stephen Langton. By F. M. POWICKE, Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. [Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1927.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. x, 227. 15 s.)

CLIO is a fickle muse. To some men of the Middle Ages, like St. Francis and Dante, she has allotted literally hundreds of biographies, whereas this is the first modern biography of Stephen Langton, the heroprelate of Magna Carta fame.

The public life of the great archbishop of Canterbury has been told in all histories of England and has even found a place in the general textbooks of Medieval history. For that reason, Professor Powicke decided not to dwell upon the dramatic events of Langton's career. That is unfortunate, for many a reader, especially in America where English history is losing ground, will feel obliged to consult other books before he can follow Professor Powicke with ease. In this first life of Langton the striking, although familiar, facts might have been restated with perfect propriety and with telling effect.

But no Medievalist will linger more than a moment on omissions in this excellent book which rejoices the heart because it is built up largely on hitherto unused manuscript material. More work on manuscripts must be our slogan for many a day in Medieval studies. By the assiduous use of Langton's unpublished lectures and sermons Professor Powicke has opened up an entirely new field for himself and a group of his students. They will be working on subjects closely akin to those studied by Pierre Mandonnet and his followers, published in the *Bibliothèque Thomiste*. Care should be taken not to duplicate work. Thus, Professor Powicke tells us that one of his students is interested in Robert Curzon, on whom a volume will appear shortly in the *Bibliothèque Thomiste*.

From local records it is now clear that Stephen was the son of Henry of Langdon-by-Wragby, a small landholder near Lincoln. Born about 1165, Stephen went to Paris early in the reign of Philip Augustus. His long residence in Paris as student and professor induced Professor Powicke to write two extremely interesting chapters on the University of Paris in its formative period, based on Langton's inedited *Quaestiones*, and all the scattered printed material which is extant. He is extremely cautious in the use of his sources, never going a millimetre beyond them. One fears that he may even have developed a touch of hypercriticism when he says that it would be surprising to find that the number of students in Paris about 1200 A.D. reached more than a couple of hundred. Although few will give credence to the statement of Bar Sauma, the lieutenant of the Oriental patriarch Yaballaha III., that he saw 30,000 students in the University of Paris in 1287 A.D., scarcely any scholars will share Professor Powicke's low estimate for 1200 A.D.

His masterly analysis of public opinion and the academic mind which produced the Great Charter and aided the reconstruction after the death

of John will command universal attention. He clearly demonstrates how the dominant studies at the University of Paris—theology, philosophy, and canon law—molded the minds of great statesmen like Innocent III. and Stephen Langton to such a degree that they shaped the destinies of nations and of the Church. The position of the great archbishop in resisting King John was much harder than that of Pope Innocent III. or the English barons. As a loyal Englishman, Stephen Langton was obliged to square his conscience with English custom and law, as well as with universal law: natural, canon, and divine. We shall welcome additions to this fascinating theme.

L. J. PAETOW.

The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon. A Translation by ROBERT BELLE BURKE, Professor of Latin and Dean of the College, University of Pennsylvania. In two volumes. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xiii, 418; v, 419–840. \$10.00.)

The CIPHER of Roger Bacon. By WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, edited with foreword and notes by ROLAND GRUBB KENT, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 224. \$4.00.)

'Tis no pleasant task to look a gift horse in the mouth, to criticize a labor of love or a posthumous publication by ill-advised friends. But considerations of historical truth and method outweigh personal proprieties.

These are two works of a different stripe. One really has something to do with Roger Bacon; the other only pretends to. One will save some students time by placing the *Opus Majus*, important in the history of science and the culture of the thirteenth century, before them in English translation. The other may mislead the curious into wasting time in idle effort to decipher an anonymous manuscript of dubious value. Our chief criticism of the one will be that it should have been more fully developed before publication. The other should never have been published at all, and Professor Newbold would never have published it in its present imperfect state. One by a sober method gives the reader a fairly good chance to form his own estimate of Roger Bacon from that famous friar's own words. The other concocts a Roger Bacon after its own fancy and purpose, bases its procedure on gratuitous assumptions, defends it by the usual logic of miracle-mongers, and ignores facts or considerations which might arouse doubt in the reader's mind. Neither book appears to be *au courant* with the more recent findings of Baconian or Medieval scholarship.

Professor Burke's rendition of the *Opus Majus* is in general faithful, patient, and accurate, without being too literal. Unfortunately a mere

translation of the text is scarcely sufficient for the reader's adequate understanding of the work. It should be accompanied by a scholarly introduction and copious explanatory notes. These Professor Burke has not attempted and in this abstention has apparently exercised discretion, for there are many indications in the translation that he is not well acquainted with the period in which Bacon lived, or with Medieval science, superstition, and bibliography. Roger's citations of other writings, ancient, Christian, or Arabic, are not always correctly rendered.¹ Professor Burke should have submitted his rendition before publication to those who could have helped him make his version more exact and luminous in such matters. A counsel of perfection would be that a truly satisfactory translation should be based not merely on the rather unsatisfactory printed text but on some study of the manuscripts. Even as it is, although the translation is based upon Bridges' edition of the *Opus Majus*, no cross-reference is made to the pagination of the Latin text, so that it is difficult to find the equivalent of a particular passage in the one in the other.

That the translation is provided with an index is praiseworthy, but I can not agree with all the good things said of the index by another reviewer (see *Isis*, XI, 140). It contains no reference to such important conceptions in Roger Bacon's thinking as the multiplication of species, generation, putrefaction, or incantations. Its citation of his bibliographical references is very faulty and incomplete.² But it is of course preferable to no index. Similarly most persons will agree that this translation of the *Opus Majus*, which on the whole gives us a reasonably good conception of Roger's science and thought, and does not gloss over any of his imperfections or those of his age, is preferable to our previous state with no English translation.

Even the publication of *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, regrettable as it is from the standpoint of Professor Newbold's memory and reputation, may do some good as well as harm. It reveals that from the time of his public lecture on the subject in April, 1921, until his sudden death in September, 1926, Newbold made no further appreciable progress in reading the Voynich manuscript. Indeed, one is amazed to find that apparently he did not even claim to have deciphered as much as a single complete page of it. Instead he turned away to try his extremely complicated cipher upon passages in Latin from printed works ascribed to Bacon but of doubtful authenticity. These experimental efforts, added to his already published lecture, Mr. Voynich's pedigree for his pet manuscript, certain rough notes Newbold left, and many pages consisting entirely of rows on rows of letters, figures, and characters, intended to illustrate the very complex and optional system of enciphering and deciphering, constitute the extraordinary volume before us. I should like to be able to force every one who asks me my opinion of the Voynich

¹ For detailed examples of these and other slips in the translation see my review in *Speculum*, October, 1928.

² *Ibid.*

manuscript to read this book from cover to cover. I think it will either kill or cure. There are a number of plates, chiefly of interest as reproducing some of the illustrations which fill so large a part of the manuscript, but by no means proving the book's fundamental assumption that "the apparent characters, viewed under the microscope, are seen to be composed of tiny separate strokes, too carefully made to be mere accidents". The editor of the volume, Professor Kent, admits that he could see only eight of these where Newbold could find twenty-five. They are taken to be Greek shorthand which must be resolved into Latin, but still no sense is made. We must arrange the Latin letters by couples, with some interlocking, obtaining a biliteral cipher where A has some 47 phonetically possible symbols to represent it; R, 89; and so on. But still no sense is made. We have further reversion alphabets and phonetic values to deal with. And still no sense is made! I would offer the ironic suggestion that the illegible writing is only a blind, and that the pictures should be interpreted symbolically, were I not afraid that some self-constituted successor to Newbold would take the suggestion seriously.

The absence of a spirit of historical criticism may be inferred from such remarks as (p. xxxi), "may we not indulge in speculation when no facts exist to hold us in restraint?" or (p. 21), that the sixteenth-century testimony of Leonard and Thomas Digges, "until discredited by more trustworthy evidence to the contrary, is entitled to full credence". Father Mandonnet's attribution of the *Speculum Astronomiae* to Bacon in 1910-1911 is approved without mention of my chapter to the contrary in 1923 or the fact that the manuscripts uniformly ascribe the work to Albertus Magnus. Colonel Hime's chapter, "Roger Bacon and Gunpowder", is favorably mentioned without reference to my refutation of it in *Science* in 1915, and in book form in 1923.

There is hardly one chance in fifty that Roger Bacon had any connection with the production of the Voynich manuscript. Bacon's being sentenced to imprisonment in 1277—to say nothing of his serving this sentence—rests solely on the very contestable authority of the "Chronicle of the XXIV. Generals", written about 1370. There is no evidence that during this imprisonment, if it occurred, he was forbidden the study of science. Yet the jacket of the volume before us has the effrontery to assert: "During his imprisonment, when forbidden by his superiors to make further investigations into the mysteries of science, Roger Bacon wrote what is known as the Voynich manuscript." And this from the University of Pennsylvania Press! Shades of the *Translations and Reprints from Original Sources in European History*!

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Bread of Our Forefathers: an Inquiry in Economic History.

By Sir WILLIAM ASHLEY. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928.
Pp. xii, 206. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS posthumous volume by the well-known economic historian of England is a thoroughly scientific investigation of the cereals used for the making of bread by the British people. It is of great value to the student of agricultural history, partly because of the information it gives, but even more because of the critical analyses of sources and the suggestions for further research in the field.

In the sixth chapter Sir William gives a summary of his conclusions. He shows that as far back as the late eighteenth century wheat was almost the only cereal used for the making of bread in England, but that in earlier periods other cereals were used to a considerable extent. He believes that before the Roman occupation oats were the principal cereal crop in Britain. The Romans introduced wheat, the grain generally used in the Mediterranean region, but succeeded only in Kent in making it the most important cereal grown. The various Teutonic invaders who followed brought with them rye, the grain most used on the plains of Northern Europe; and it is the author's belief that rye, whether pure or mixed with other cereals, remained for centuries the chief ingredient of bread for the masses in England. While the use of wheat became fashionable in the Middle Ages, probably as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the soil of many parts of England was not naturally favorable to its growth. The change from rye to wheat as the principal ingredient of bread came, therefore, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when capital was first applied on a large scale to the improvement of the soil. The sources used by Sir William Ashley are many and varied and show the breadth and depth of his reading and the patience of his search for evidence. For the eighteenth century, in addition to well-known writers such as Arthur Young and Gregory King we find use made of Charles Smith, the anonymous author of the *Tracts on Corn* of 1764 and an important miller whose personal knowledge and business connections enabled him to speak with authority; and, finally, of the records of the estate of Holkham in Norfolk, made notable somewhat later by the work of the agricultural reformer Coke. For the Tudor period the chief sources used are the statutes, such as that of 5 Eliz. IV. ordering the justices of the peace to assess the wages of agricultural laborers; the corn certificates, through which the national government sought to watch over local supplies of cereals; the records of the monasteries at the time of their dissolution 1536-1539; and writers such as William Harrison in Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, 1577, and Thomas Tusser, the author of *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. For earlier periods back to the early twelfth century Ashley uses chiefly monastic records and, with considerable criticism, Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices*. In every case Sir William gives a critical estimate of the value of the source he uses, or tells us that a definite conclusion is impossible because

certain important kinds of evidence are lacking. He takes the reader into his confidence with a frankness that disarms criticism.

Finally, we should consider the errors of commission or omission and the lack of certain records which did much to create the tradition that the use of wheat for bread was almost universal even in the Middle Ages. Thus the Latin word "siligo" (pp. 67-69), which meant fine wheat, came to be used in the Middle Ages for rye, with the result that modern writers, returning to the classical usage, interpreted Medieval records as mentioning wheat when they really referred to rye. Another serious error was the translation by the Elizabethan judge, Rastall, of the word "blado" (p. 150) found in the Assize of Bread of 1267 as bread of common wheat whereas it really referred to undifferentiated corn. This was responsible for the erroneous belief that the Assize of Bread regulated only the price of bread made of wheat. In the third place, Ashley points out that the belief that wheat was used almost universally for bread even in the Middle Ages rests partly on the fact that manorial records give information chiefly regarding the demesne lands of the larger manors where wheat was grown to a considerable extent, and tell us little of the crops on the small manors, or of those grown by tenants who probably subsisted chiefly on rye or on a mixture of cereals. Ashley shows that wheat and rye, or other cereals, were frequently mixed either at the mill, or when sown in the fields, and that the usual terms for such mixtures, like "maslin" or "mancorn", or "drage", were not always used, so that these products have often been wrongly called wheat.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

The History of Witchcraft and Demonology. By MONTAGUE SUMMERS. [The History of Civilization, edited by C. K. Ogden.] (London: Kegan Paul; New York: A. A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xv, 353. 12 s. 6 d.)

The Geography of Witchcraft. By MONTAGUE SUMMERS. [The History of Civilization, edited by C. K. Ogden.] (London: Kegan Paul; New York: A. A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. ix, 623. 12 s. 6 d.)

Malleus Maleficarum. Translated with an introduction, bibliography, and notes by MONTAGUE SUMMERS. (London: John Rodker. 1928. Pp. xlv, 278. 35 s.)

Demoniality. By LUDOVICO MARIA SINISTRARI, Friar Minor. Translated by MONTAGUE SUMMERS. (London: Fortune Press. 1928. Pp. xliii, 127. 21 s.)

MR. SUMMERS is still in the Middle Ages. An Anglo-Catholic cleric, his express purpose in writing is to bring back the days of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Though the first of his volumes calls itself a history, it is only the exposition of a dogma: the dogma of human relations with a personal Devil, as set forth in the later fifteenth century by the book

which did most to bring in the great witch-persecution. Assuring us of his own complete faith in witchcraft thus defined, and dismissing as "narrowly prejudiced and inefficient" the writers who have found it a delusion, he tells us that "only the trained theologian can adequately treat the subject" and devotes his own chapters to the Witch: Heretic and Antichrist, the Worship of the Witch, Demons and Familiars, the Sabbat, all these to him unchanging fact. If then he gives us a chapter on the Witch in Holy Writ, it is to find in Scripture for his dogma not source but illustrations; and his long chapter on Diabolic Possession and Modern Spiritism is again but dogma taught by examples—the Spiritists the Devil's dupes or his allies and modern Spiritism "merely Witchcraft revived". Only his closing chapter, the Witch in Dramatic Literature, breathes a slightly less theologic air, suggesting the route by which its author, known as a student of the old English drama, arrived at his interest in witchcraft. But the copious bibliography that ends the volume gives promise of a wider view, and his second volume, *The Geography of Witchcraft*, much more than the first deserves the name of history. Only in the sense of taking up one country at a time is it geography; the territorial limits or the spread of witchcraft it discusses nowhere. Glancing at the beliefs and practices bequeathed to Christendom by Greece and Rome, it deals, at very unequal length, with England, Scotland, New England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain. Its author's reading clearly broadens as he goes on. The omissions and blunders by which his bibliography shows compilation at second hand—witness that rich list of English chap-books lifted almost bodily from Dr. Notestein—find here and there correction. Yet nowhere is his reading adequate or thorough. Not even the works singled out for praise in his introduction can really have been studied; and much of highest importance he does not know at all. Take his chapter on Germany, the classic land of witch-hunting. Who could dream of a sketch of witchcraft in Germany—or in Europe—without the aid of Joseph Hansen, whose monograph on "witch-delusion, Inquisition, and witch-trial in the Middle Ages" has now for a quarter-century supplanted, for the period it covers, the older classic of Soldan-Heppe? Mr. Summers does not know the book. Once (p. 520) he almost seems to quote it; but what he means is the source-book (*Quellen und Untersuchungen*) added by Hansen in the following year (1901). That, too, is a masterpiece, a basis for all later study. Mr. Summers names it with praise, both in his introduction and his bibliography; but that he can have used it is incredible—it would have saved him error after error, and on almost every page it refers to the companion work. Soldan-Heppe he knows, but not in the revision of Bauer (1912). Of the most careful study from the Catholic side, the chapters of Janssen-Pastor, he is equally ignorant; and the able answer of Paulus to Protestant overstatements he names but does not use. Real study he has given only to the demonologists, and his narrative is a tissue of their old-wives' tales.

His pious credulity knows, indeed, no bounds. The pact of the witch with the Devil in person, their obscene relations, the witch-sabbath and

the flight to it, broomstick and all, ghosts and imps, incubi and succubi, he believes in them all. Not even at were-wolves does he stick. Compared with him the Mathers were liberal and progressive scholars. But so, too, were the Catholic leaders of their day. That skepticism as to witches goes back but a century or two, as Mr. Summers would have his readers think, is far from true. Even the authors of the *Malleus* were hard put to it to convince their public; and well before the end of the sixteenth century the influence of the *Malleus* itself was on the wane. Both the Spanish and the Roman Inquisition had grown hesitant, and testimony as to those seen at the witch-sabbath was no longer fatal. Soon the protests of Tanner, of Laymann, and of Spee were growing potent with the Holy Office; and presently, in a volume long used by it as a manual, Cardinal Albizzi was scoring the cruel transalpine procedure with the horror of a modern. Nor were they "crass rationalists", "muddy materialists", "pseudo-scientific modernists", those early doubters. They were pastors, physicians, judges, in closest touch with culprit and with court and risking life itself to end a wrong their insight could no longer bear. So cogent to a slowly listening world proved what they tell that now for many years at old-world seats of learning it has been counted needless to waste further study on this nightmare of the past. Even a reviewer may be allowed an illustration. In 1652 the clerk of the commission sent into Scotland to attend to justice writes thus to the Speaker of the English House of Commons: "Some were brought before them for Witches, two whereof had been brought before the Kirk . . ., and having confessed it, were turned over to the civill Magistrate. The Court demanding how they came to bee proved Witches, they declared, that they were forced to it by the exceeding torture they were put to, which was, by tying their thumbs behind them, and then hanging them up by them; two Highlanders whipped them, after which they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet, and between their toes, then they burnt them by putting lighted candles into their mouthes, and then burning them in the head. There were six of them accused in all, 4 whereof died of the torture." And this was only the rude pre-torture of the parish authorities. For any who proved stubborn there remained the regular torture of the Scottish courts—the pilliewinkies, the rack, the boots. Sir George Mackenzie, a Scottish judge and long the kingdom's public prosecutor, describing in his great treatise on Scottish criminal law (1678) these tortures and the mental ones that reinforced them, avers that to his certain knowledge "most of all that ever were taken were tormented after this manner, and this usage was the ground of all their confession". Though too pious or too cautious to doubt the existence of witches, he thinks them few and blames severely "those cruel and too forward Judges who burn persons by thousands as guilty of this Crime".

Of all this Mr. Summers is not wholly ignorant. That malice, greed, and torture played large part in the convictions he admits, and violently arraigns for this all whom he theologically abhors: Elizabeth and her

prelates, Calvinist Scotland, the New England Puritans. But this in no wise hinders him from using as valid evidence any confession that suits his need; and regardless of torture, of retraction, of acquittal. Sir George Mackenzie he mentions only among the learned men who believed in witchcraft and could hardly have been mistaken; while Bishop Jewel, named also among these learned men as "one of the ablest and most authoritative expounders of the true genius and teaching of the reformed Church of England", becomes when later we meet him as an Elizabethan prelate "a rancorous polemic" whose "impudence, profanity, unblushing mendacity, and downright forgery are beyond belief" and whose ardor against witches is only political pretense. But the zeal of Mr. Summers has eaten him up. For him not only do the Freemasons practice Devil-worship, but "Satanists yet celebrate the black mass in many a town, both great and small". "Both South America and Canada are thus polluted" and in New York "the foul superstition of human sacrifice is sometimes attempted". To him the Witch-Hammer is still "a work of enormous erudition" and the books of Remy, Boguet, Guazzo, Delancré, long only less notorious, are "erudite" and "authoritative" in direct proportion to their credulity and cruelty. He will renew and broaden their influence by translation into English.

But the most startling thing is not Mr. Summers or his book. It is that such a book could find a place in a great educational series on the history of civilization—a series announced as offering the ripest fruit of historical science—a series initiated by the rational *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, edited by a Cambridge scholar, and boasting as its "consulting American editor" the champion of "the new history".

The first of Mr. Summers's translations follow closely on his book, and this review has tarried to include them. First announced, if not quite first in print, is fittingly the *Malleus* itself—that inquisitorial handbook which in Germany made every court an expert at witch-hunting, and by transferring that task to secular hands ensured its triumph and its spread. It has the fame of causing more suffering than aught else born of human pen. Even the great Catholic historian of the German people calls it "the source of unspeakable mischief", and many have noted with satisfaction that it found translation into no modern tongue. Twenty years ago appeared at last a German version; but only to exploit the notoriety of what it calls "an incredible monstrosity, filled with spiritual miasma". Much, however, the research of these last years has added to our knowledge of the book and of its authors. An earlier draft has been unearthed which establishes the date of its writing (1485–1486) and proves that not Sprenger, but his colleague Institoris, was the leading compiler. Recovered records of witch-chases conducted personally by him in Tyrol and in Swabia have thrown fresh light on his personality and his methods. The German Dominicans, busy with the archives of their order, and the official historians of the old University of Cologne have illumined the careers of both authors. Above all, the labors of Joseph Hansen, the learned archivist of Cologne, have revolutionized our knowledge of them

and of their book. Alas, of all this Mr. Summers knows naught. His translation is readable, but as an editor he is hopelessly out of date. In his introduction, indeed, Hansen finds mention; but it is only for a remark quoted in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

Not quite so ill-starred is the second translation. This treatise on "demoniality"—i.e., on the sex-relations between demons and humans—though penned by the Franciscan Sinistrari (1622–1701) before 1700, was in 1872 picked up in a London book-shop by a French bibliophile, Isidore Liseux. Finding it the author's autograph and unpublished, he gave to the press, with a mocking preface, not only the Latin original, but a French and an English translation—pointing out that it is clearly but a completer form of the chapter on this crime in Sinistrari's work on the criminal law and procedure of the Franciscans. Much its larger part—sections 28–III of its 115—is lacking to that work; and few are likely to read these lacking sections without suspecting that a censor's hand excised them. Mr. Summers, however, repels the suspicion with much vehemence, and finds in Liseux's ignorance of theology a warrant for a fresh translation. He does, indeed, correct some errors; but there are limits to the theological learning which can ascribe to Francesco Silvester the *Summa Sylvestrina* of Prierias, to the commentator Lorinus the *Epitome Canonum* of Brancati, to Pico of Mirandola the *Summa Conciliorum* of Carranza; and what shall be thought of the historian of witchcraft who can attach to the familiar name of the "Cap. Episcopi"—the canon-law chapter about which for centuries revolved all controversy as to witchcraft—a note on Episcopal Capitularies?

GEORGE L. BURR.

Caricatures of the "Winter King" of Bohemia from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library, and from the British Museum.

With an Introduction, notes, and translations by E. A. Beller, Ph.D. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. 64. 42 s.)

DR. BELLER has brought together in this thin, sumptuously printed folio volume 24 caricatures of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, the so-called "Winter King" of Bohemia. The caricatures are excellently reproduced by a photographic process, and each is printed on a page by itself. As one opens the book a caricature sheet, consisting of drawing and explanatory verse, appears on the right hand, and, on the left, a few words describing the sheet, and a translation of its verse. The set of caricatures is given place in the controversy of the time by a short introduction, which describes the main events of Frederick's Bohemian adventure.

Students of seventeenth-century history will thank Dr. Beller no less for his courage in setting out on this rarely trodden path of research, than for the new material with which he provides them. There are few such books in the whole range of historical literature. It does not fill a

gap; rather, it accurately charts a small island in a corner of the historical globe that is little known. The historian regards as within the power of his analysis all kinds of information conveyed by the written word, yet he treats with suspicion and rarely uses the pictorial record of an event, or the delineation of character in a portrait. To most historians a picture is either too simple an illustration to be used—the servant of the high school text-book—or too difficult, an alien record, to be dismissed with the phrase, “I know little of art”. Dr. Beller proves that there is no cause for the historian to be afraid of a picture; that if the ordinary precepts of historical caution are observed it will yield trustworthy information. If Grimmelshausen’s “Simplicissimus”, or the controversial ballads of Royalist and Parliamentarian have any value for the historian, so have these caricatures.

They do not, as do the etchings of Callot and Goya, portray, and by the horror of their lines condemn, the disasters of war. Their message was more simple, more direct. They were vehicles of propaganda put out by one party, probably Frederick’s enemies in Bavaria, with a view to showing the actions of the other as ridiculous and unlikely to succeed. This kind of caricature found excellent material in the misfortunes of the “Winter King”. Sometimes he was depicted as the Bohemian lion waging an unequal struggle with the imperial eagle and the spider (Spinola), or as a feeble old lion plagued with Spanish gnats and rendered sick by the devil pride which had got into him. In these caricatures the artists used allegory in the conventional manner. Elsewhere the king was shown in his own person rising and falling on the wheel of fortune, wandering back disconsolate from Bohemia, or doing villein service for the states. All the caricatures are simple, clear, and, with one or two minor exceptions, in good taste, according to the most precise modern standards. Sheets nos. V. and XXI. are fair examples of contemporary etching and engraving.

The doggerel verse has the same qualities as the drawings. In comment it is simple and direct, in humor heavy handed. Its jog-trot lines are of the kind that could easily be committed to memory. Dr. Beller’s literal translation of the verse does not look well strung out line by line across the page. One does not care to meet such lines as:

There important politicians stand,
Also royalty and clerics.

For form’s sake it would have been better to print the translation as prose, or if the exercise did not prove too onerous, to give a doggerel rendering of it.

Dr. Beller does not say why he reproduced these 24 caricatures alone, whether they were all, or the best, or the most typical of those he found; nor does he say why he confined his search for these Dutch and German prints to two great English collections. It would have been well to do this. It would also have been well to add to the note which mentions Wolkan’s “Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig” a list of books which

contain caricatures of the "Winter King"; J. Scheible, for example, in his *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* reproduces many which are not to be found in Dr. Beller's collection.

FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM.

Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter. Door P. J. BLOK. (Hague: Nijhoff. 1928. Pp. 454. 28 gulden.)

As long ago as 1906 plans were laid for a new and authoritative biography of the best known and best loved of Dutch admirals, as part of the tercentenary commemoration of his birth. After delays and mutations common to such enterprises, the house of Nijhoff issues this handsome volume whose binding, paper, typography, and illustration alike rejoice the eye and show what makers of books can do when they like. To Professor Blok fell the task of authorship, and he found in it, as the preface states, a source of great intellectual enjoyment and enthusiasm. The enjoyment and enthusiasm have entered happily into the composition, and the result is unworthy neither of the hero's fame nor of the author's scholarship. To mollify the general reader notes, references, and bibliographical comment are relegated to the final pages; to mollify the student Professor Blok has taken full advantage of the mass of material bearing on De Ruyter's career that has come to light in the two and a half centuries since Brandt published his famous life of the admiral in 1687. While it is not likely that the new biography will replace the old—undoubtedly the more charming of the two—Professor Blok has written more critically as a perspective of two centuries and modern wariness of hero-worship require. Students of naval warfare may be disappointed that the author has not entered more fully into the technical side of the story, for the sea battles are quite simply and—from a civilian point of view—intelligibly described. To be sure, naval tactics were still elementary, and it was only during the first war with England that boarding the enemy was obsolescent, and victory depended on manoeuvre and gunnery.

The narrative confines itself fairly closely to De Ruyter's career, a story as full of strange and stirring incident as Ulysses's or Othello's, but with a wider geographical range and in the full rhythm of the seventeenth century. This son of an ale-porter of Flushing acquired his seamanship on whaling voyages to Jan Mayen, trading voyages to Ireland, Barbary, and the West Indies, privateering for prizes, and privateer-hunting. He learned to know men and ships: the first much as they always are; the latter, small, cranky, and almost completely at the wind's will. There was not a great deal of difference even at this period between merchantmen and men-of-war, and De Ruyter passed easily from being, as he put it, "schipper naest Godt", to being admiral, still more surely "naest Godt". His faults and his virtues were congenial to his time. A Calvinist of Calvinists, he never willingly sailed, even in whaling days, without a minister in the ship's company. This piety was by no means incom-

patible with occasional brutality: keel-hauling for the seamen and outbursts of temper for his captains to whom he not infrequently talked "ronde Hollandse tael". Yet he watched paternally over both captains and men, and liked to be served by his accustomed crew and his tried officers. Of undoubted personal courage, he was most cautious in his conduct of the fleet, finding courage, as he once observed "too perilous". Part of his anger at young Tromp was evoked by the recklessness of that commander, to whom a battle was "a dance". Because of his caution De Ruyter never won a smashing victory nor sustained a smashing defeat. His most famous exploit, the destruction of the English fleet at Chatham, was forced upon him by the two De Witts. In the work of preparing the fleet to go out, he labored as hard and unremittingly as any humble servant of the admiralty. Victualling, arming, manning—all took place under his eye. He disliked theory. De Witt, mathematician that he was, drew up elaborate plans of naval campaigns. De Ruyter considered one of these and replied: "Wel goet, soo het conde gepractiseerd worden gelyck men het schriftelyck op 't pampier can stellen" (p. 245). His tastes and manner of living were simple and frugal. Even in the days of his greatness he tidied his own cabin. He disliked hand-kissing and "Spaensche complementos" and elaborate dress. But he was careful to claim his full admiral's share of booty, and gave much thought to the investment of his accumulating fortune. Politics he left to land-lubbers. With horror and pity he learned of the terrible death of the brothers De Witt, but he made no protest. When, however, he was invited by a member of the States General to withdraw praise he had bestowed on Cornelis De Witt, he replied firmly: "If we have come to such a pass in our country that a man may not speak the truth, we are wretched indeed" (p. 333). His devotion to his country was complete. When the new government sent him to his death with a wholly inadequate fleet, he pointed out the folly of it, but added: "If I were ordered to carry the country's flag with but a single ship, I would put to sea with it, and since the Lords States entrust their flag to me, I will venture my life" (p. 370). He lost his life and the States their devoted servant. They gave him a splendid funeral, and were unaware that it was a farewell not only to Michiel Adriaanszoon De Ruyter, but to the heroic period of Dutch sea history.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

James the Second. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1928. Pp. 298. \$4.00.)

THE author defines his purpose as an attempt to portray a character of which "academic historians give but a caricature". He simplifies his task by the omission of several of the most discreditable passages in James's career, and by the absence of all references—though it is clear that his authorities are mainly those available to Macaulay. Among the incidents of James's life on which it would be interesting to have the

views of an apologist are James's persistent partiality towards Berkeley, the traducer of his wife, his active share in the persecution of Scottish Presbyterians, and his attitude towards plots to assassinate William III. Other awkward matters are passed over with a silence as misleading as the many positive errors the book contains. A few examples must suffice. Mr. Belloc states that "we have the estimate of the beginning of the [seventeenth] century that then some half of the people were more or less on the Catholic side". On the contrary, we have the estimate of A. O. Meyer¹ that during the hundred years following 1580 Catholics numbered from 2.3 to 3 per cent. of the whole population. The ecclesiastical commission of 1686 is stated to have been framed "according to both statute and precedent". The act of 1641 had declared that "no new court shall be erected . . . which shall or may have the like power, jurisdiction or authority as the said high commission court now hath or pretendeth to have". An old fable about the Prince of Orange's reception in the west in November, 1688, appears in a more definite form. "William, sullen, disappointed and alarmed, proposed to abandon the attempt within the first week. What saved him was Churchill's treason." On the other hand, the prince himself, in the first letter he wrote to his confidential friend, Waldeck, thought he had grounds for hoping for success. "The beginnings are good." At the treaty of Ryswick Louis XIV. is stated not to have recognized William as legitimate King of England. Yet the preamble calls William, as well as Louis, king "by the grace of God". Clearly, Mr. Belloc can not have glanced at the text of the treaty for he mentions two other matters "all in the much-contested opening clause"—the payment of the jointure of Mary of Modena and the recognition of James's son as William's heir. Of course, there is not a word about either in the first clause or in any other. There was a verbal agreement about the first point, though it is here stated so incompletely as to be unfair to William, but the second is a novelty of the author. It is asserted that the classes that promoted the Revolution of 1688 "felt instinctively that the spirit of Catholicism was a popular spirit making for popular monarchy". Possibly so, but when they translated their feelings into words they said that "popery and slavery go hand in hand". If they looked abroad they failed to recognize Louis XIV. as one who "stood for popular monarchy". When they sought a precedent in the history of their own country they were equally blind to the popular nature of the rule of Mary I. On the whole this book is too inaccurate in statement and too partizan in tone to serve as a useful guide to the character of James II.

G. D.

¹ *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, p. 65.

The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783: Printed from the Original Papers in the Royal Archives. Edited by the Hon. Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, LL.D., D.Litt. Volume III., July, 1773–December, 1777; volume IV., 1778 to December, 1779; volume V., 1780 to April, 1782; volume VI., May, 1782, to December, 1783. (London: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xx, 556; xxviii, 567; xvii, 524; xiii, 495. 25 s. each.)

VOLUMES III., IV., and V. carry the reader from the raid on the tea ships to the formation of the Rockingham Ministry, a most critical period in English history. It seems not to have occurred to King George III. that the Intolerable Acts would be received with anything but meekness by the Americans, and he appears to have been obsessed with the idea that the Whigs were causing the American troubles by encouraging the colonists to resistance. This misapprehension on the part of the king stands out through his letters, and may be accounted of the main contributory factors in his failure to employ even those Whigs who might have helped him during the American Revolution.

Gage, upon the ground, saw instantly that the Intolerable Acts must be suspended as a condition precedent to getting anything done; the king characterized the suggestion as absurd, and from that moment until the surrender of Cornwallis he held to his notion with tenacity, that the only alternatives were the complete submission of the colonies or their complete triumph. The investigator who wishes to write a modern biography of the sort that overturns previous notions, will not be able to overthrow the king's established reputation for perseverance by reference to the George III. Papers. There is evidence that North's conciliatory bills of 1775 were thought too conciliatory, even by some members of Parliament, but not, needless to say, by the Whigs.

With the war well under way, General Howe's report from "Camp on the Heights of Charles Town", June 22, 1775, is a new document of very great importance. It is followed by a letter of cutting, but exceedingly pertinent criticism from Burgoyne beginning: "Let us draw the veil for the present on all that has passed previous to the 17th of June." The employment of the German mercenaries was regarded as a matter too obvious for comment, and Empress Catherine's refusal to rent Russian troops for service in America was considered not "genteel".

Late in 1775 Lord George Germain comes on the stage in the Cabinet shake-up incident to the retirement of Lord Rochford. The long succession of documents on the subject might incline one to think that the emoluments attached to the various offices had far more to do with placing the men than any qualifications, and Germain gets the American office because he "cannot treat with the continent". The Ghost of Minden gives him the direction of the American war by default. To the American historian there are disappointingly few of the letters between Germain and the king, a defect which is largely repaired by the recent arrival at Michigan of the Papers of Lord George himself. The investigator in

the military history of the American Revolution will likewise be baffled by the paucity of letters or copies of letters from Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis. This, however, is also made up in the recent acquisition for Michigan of the Sir Henry Clinton Papers. Even a hasty examination of the Clinton Papers suggests that Sir Henry collected a vast number of these essential documents after the war, preparatory to writing his complete and unpublished, but extant, "History of the American Revolution".

The period of the Burgoyne surrender is marked by an ominous absence of letters, both before and after. It would be difficult to prove from the George III. Papers that Howe ever knew he was even supposed to coöperate with Burgoyne. The immediate consequence of the surrender at Saratoga was the increase in French interest in American affairs, pointing toward an open break with England. The threatened break between the ancient enemies from this point on occupies the king's attention and American affairs become subordinate.

More serious than the surrender of Saratoga was the immediate evidence of active French participation in the war. The Cabinet was shaken. North fairly begged the king to call Chatham, but the king's pride, already made clear in Donne's *Correspondence of George III. and Lord North*, is now further attested by the Windsor Castle documents. The king would not even see Chatham personally. From this point the next two volumes might bear the subtitle "Lord North's efforts to get out". The mere chronicle of his lordship's attempts to resign would make a good subject for a seminar. Failing to reconstruct the Cabinet so as to secure a ministry of all talents, North and the king set to work to offset the French attack. Sea power was evidently the way to combat France, and there was the great fleet under Admiral Keppel. While there is little material available on the subject of this armada and the indecisive action off Ushant, there are reams of documents on the fight that came afterward between Keppel and his second in command, Sir Hugh Palliser. Following this, the king's attention in the year 1779 seems wholly engrossed with the expected French attack on England. In this same year came the investigation of Sir William Howe for the disasters of 1777, and it is apparent from the papers that Lord George Germain wished to quash any idea of an investigation of Howe, and that, when the investigation was under way, Germain refused to probe for the facts—both circumstances of considerable significance. It is in supplementary evidence of this sort that Sir John Fortescue's work is invaluable. At this time the king had very definitely in mind the idea of getting rid of Lord George altogether—a project which he gave up, to his own cost.

The entrance of Spain into the war still further distracted the king from the American aspect of the conflict and he seems to have subordinated that side of the struggle with the thoughts that Clinton, though he was constantly appealing for help, was in fact doing very well, and would soon do better. Clinton's capture at Charles Town gave the king false

comfort—neither he nor North ever could seem to estimate Washington's ability at its true worth. A victory was a victory, but they seldom stopped to enquire what kind of a victory it was. Their attention was immediately diverted by the Gordon Riots, and again the American side sinks into insignificance. The news of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown does not seem immediately to have convinced the king of the futility of his efforts. He asked for Germain's ideas on further carrying on the war, to which Germain's evident reply may be found in the Germain Papers. Conway's resolution, however, took the whole business out of the hands of George III., to which George could only say that he was "much hurt". Shelburne now enters the stage as the principal character to be reckoned with.

While American historical investigators in the period of the Revolution must be grateful for this publication of the George III. Papers, the reviewer must, with due delicacy, remind all such investigators that these documents are necessarily incomplete, as far as American history is concerned, and that they must not be used without a realization of the existence of the papers of the British Commander-in-Chief in America, the British Colonial Secretary, and the man who was called upon at Rockingham's death to salvage the wreck of the empire. These collections, the Sir Henry Clinton Papers, the Lord George Germain Papers, and the Papers of the Earl of Shelburne have now come to America and are being prepared for use at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. So often in reading the George III. Papers the reviewer has come across the beginning of a story which he knows is completed in one of the collections at the William L. Clements Library, that he can not in justice to the readers of the review omit reference to these collections.

The sixth volume of the papers includes the periods of the ministries of Rockingham, Shelburne, and the Fox-North Coalition. This amounts to saying they include the Peace of 1782-1783. In the king's papers is but a skeleton of what took place—albeit a very useful skeleton, because the bulk of the English papers have never been printed. The American side has fared better because of the published works of Franklin, Jay, and John Adams, and because of the collections of Wharton, Sparks, and Doniol—all of which, however, leave many documents unaccounted for. But on the English side, most of the source material still remains in manuscript, original or transcript. The transcripts made by Sparks (now at Harvard), by George Bancroft (now at the New York Public Library), and under the direction of B. F. Stevens (now at the Library of Congress), have done much to make this English material available. The coming of the Shelburne Papers from Lansdowne House to the University of Michigan affords more material. If one will think of the Shelburne Papers, the Bancroft transcripts, and the Stevens transcripts as three large circles, all of which overlap, but none of which coincide, one will get an idea of what the available material is on the Peace of 1783. If one will consider the portion of that picture where all three circles

cover the same area (a relatively small one), one will understand what is included in the Sparks transcripts. In other words, each of the collections of Shelburne, Stevens, and Bancroft contains much of what is in the other two, and much of what is in neither of the other two. The Sparks transcripts contain nothing relating to the peace that is not in the other three. But all of these papers are still in manuscript and available in America only at the places mentioned. The Papers of George III., while they do not contain the substantial matter in the other collections, are the first of the English papers to appear systematically in print. Until the publication of the Shelburne, Strachey, Oswald, and Fitzherbert papers, the English side is incomplete.

Through this volume, as through the others, one gets an impression of George III. as an indefatigable worker, working pretty largely in the dark. Moreover, one is apt to gain the impression that the king was rather patient and rather humble in the face of his many detractors and enemies. He could not stand Charles James Fox any more than he could stand Chatham, but even an American reviewer must admit that there was much to be said for King George's attitude.

Especially valuable are the letters between George III. and Shelburne—the one part of the Lansdowne papers which did not come to America. Yet throughout all six volumes of these *Papers of George III.*, the historian is going to be puzzled by the number of letters which begin "I inclose herewith . . ." and yet, where is the inclosure? In many cases, it will be easy to find these, but in others, much more difficult.

Considering the magnitude of the task, one can have nothing but praise for the accuracy and care with which Sir John Fortescue has done his work, within the limits he set himself. He did not undertake to explain every document in a foot-note, nor locate each missing inclosure. This would have been desirable, but probably impossible, if the scholarly world were ever to get the benefits and advantages of Sir John's work.

King George III. now awaits another biographer, but the need is not pressing in view of this publication. The human side of the king can be best understood from a manuscript memorandum penned as a marginalium to one of Shelburne's letters to him and written just after the signing of the preliminary articles of peace in 1782: "I cannot conclude without mentioning how sensibly I feel the dismemberment of America from this Empire, and that I should be miserable indeed if I did not feel that no blame on that account can be laid at my door, and did I not know also that knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of its Inhabitants that it may not in the end be an evil that they become Aliens to this Kingdom."

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

William Huskisson and Liberal Reform: an Essay on the Changes in Economic Policy in the 'Twenties of the Nineteenth Century.

By ALEXANDER BRADY, Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Toronto. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. 177. 12 s. 6 d.)

HUSKISSON is a tempting theme for an historical essay, especially to a writer who can interpret England's commercial policies of the early nineteenth century as a battleground of the older and the newer economic opinions. Sufficient justice for the time being was done to Huskisson's part in parliamentary discussions of this conflict of views when Murray, in 1831, issued the three-volume collection of Huskisson's speeches, to which he added an extensive biographical memoir. Since 1831 the only sketch of Huskisson worth recording is the admirable short account by J. A. Hamilton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Hamilton indicated the directions in which his own brief notice might be expanded by references to periodicals and parliamentary debates, and to the diaries, memoirs, and biographies of contemporary statesmen. He accepted without reserve the general estimate of Huskisson handed down by that statesman's official friends. The publication of Professor Brady's work naturally gave rise to the expectation that perhaps a study of Huskisson's epoch had been made that advanced the subject beyond the limits previously set. A comparison of Professor Brady's chapters with Hamilton's review and with the volumes of 1831 shows the contrary to be the case. Substantially Professor Brady contributes almost nothing new; the accounts of the Navigation Acts, of the silk trade, of the conditions of British agriculture, inserted in his exposition, have long been the common knowledge and the common property of readers; even the categorizing with terms of economic theories and practice seems in places almost too simple and elementary for publication. The strongest recommendation for his book comes from its being the only short work on Huskisson now available for a reference shelf.

In describing (chapter VI.) the Liberal-Tory treatment of commercial interests in the British North American provinces, Professor Brady betrays a disposition to want to stop short at contriving to fit Huskisson's intentions into a scheme of imperial preference, designed, as he says, to forge "links of empire". That, it may be pointed out, was not Huskisson's full view; his speeches anticipate clearly an eventual separation of British North America from the mother country; his great anxiety was lest, when the separation came, it might not be arranged amicably. The omission of any mention of Huskisson's employment for twelve years as colonial agent of Ceylon, at a really considerable salary, and his special interest in the British Empire in Asia, is a decided drawback to any well-rounded comprehension of Huskisson's imperial vision. Search amongst Liverpool local records of the shipowners association and the chamber of commerce, amongst the proceedings of the Manchester chamber of commerce, and in the newspaper press of big shipping centres, might help to

elucidate the point as to what extent Huskisson had an original statesmanship, and to what extent he lent himself to acquired opinions which he urged as a cautious parliamentary attorney. Certain of his speeches on Canada, for example, exhibit traces of hasty and not altogether accurate coaching; where a candid admission in the argument would confirm the contentions of the philosophical radicals, Huskisson's evasiveness is distinctly disingenuous. About these and similar questions we need the results of wider study; we should welcome, if for nothing else than the sake of argument, a scholarly challenge to long established pronouncements. An essay on Huskisson and his times that carries us scarcely beyond the friendly critics of 1831 is of limited usefulness only.

C. E. FRYER.

The Eighth Earl of Elgin: a Chapter in Nineteenth-Century Imperial History. By J. L. MORISON, D.Litt., Professor of Modern History in Armstrong College, University of Durham. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1928. Pp. 318. 15 s.)

THE career of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, was cut short at the age of fifty-two. Still, during the twenty-one years of his public life he had held a number of offices that required an unusual degree of administrative and diplomatic talent. A list of the positions will speak for itself—governor of Jamaica, 1842–1846, governor-general of Canada, 1847–1854, two missions to China and one to Japan within the years 1857 and 1860, viceroy of India at the time of his death in 1863. In every instance, Lord Elgin's tenure of office coincided with a period of storm and stress; but posts which have proved graveyards of reputations offered him opportunities to gain an illustrious name among Britain's imperial statesmen.

That the life of such a man should attract the historian, the biographer, and the essayist is but natural. Professor Morison has had many predecessors, although only two of these, Mr. Theodore Walrond and Professor George M. Wrong, have dealt with the whole field of Lord Elgin's activities. But the former published *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* in 1872; and the latter's *The Earl of Elgin* came off the press in 1905. Since then the ban has been lifted from Elgin's official correspondence, and Professor Morison has apparently enjoyed freer use of his private papers than has any of the other biographers except Walrond.

Considering the opportunities afforded Professor Morison, it is a pity that his book deals solely with Elgin's political life. That, no doubt, offers most material for the historian, but it leaves the biography rather patchy. Unity is difficult to achieve when an account is limited to services of various kinds in different parts of the globe; and it can not be said that the obstacles in that respect have been successfully overcome.

However, within his self-imposed limits Professor Morison has written an interesting and valuable book. From Elgin's letters, information has been gleaned that sheds new light on many of the problems which he faced. In this respect the story of his governor-generalship in Canada

offers most material. It is clear that Lord Elgin, while abstaining from meddling in the politics of the colony in the manner of Sir Charles Metcalfe, exercised a direct influence on political events more closely resembling that of Lord Sydenham than that of the later governors-general of the Dominion of Canada. Professor Morison also deepens our knowledge of the methods used in negotiating and securing the ratification of the famous Elgin Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Members of the United States Senate fare rather badly; but Lord Elgin does not go scotfree; it supplies food for reflection that he, though deeply religious, apparently counted nearly every means legitimate provided it insured the success of the treaty and did not incriminate himself.

Similar reflections in regard to the connections between nineteenth-century religious feelings and political morality appear when one reads Professor Morison's account of Elgin's missions to China and his treatment of the Chinese. We are assured (p. 41) that: "From first to last he never failed in his adherence to the simple creed . . . to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Yet, tens of thousands of innocent people suffered in the bombardment of Canton and by the wanton pillaging of that city. Lord Elgin could certainly have prevented the latter. Professor Morison's discussion of Elgin's work in China is not so clear and comprehensive as that found in Professor Wrong's *Life of Elgin*, nor so critical as that in *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*. In this part of the book Professor Morison shields his hero, but still he supplies us with a good deal of new information.

While one may differ now and then with Professor Morison's judgment of men and events and with some of his interpretations, he has written a stimulating book that will be read with benefit and pleasure by all who are interested in the history of British expansion and the growth of British colonial policy.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Origins of the World War. By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY, Professor of Modern European History in Smith College. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xxii, 551; xiv, 577. \$9.00.)

If a student of history were banished to the traditional desert island and permitted but one book on each field of history, he would choose for his unique reference work on the origins of the World War the two volumes of Professor Sidney B. Fay. No other work has yet appeared in English, French, or German which is at once so comprehensive, authoritative, impartial, and well proportioned. Specialists in the field will long use it as a cornerstone of their own constructions; other historians will place it within easy reach on their reference shelf as an indispensable first aid in clearing up diplomatic problems of the period from 1870 to 1914; but the general reader will do well to read first some standard text-

books on recent European history so that he may understand the detailed and often highly technical analyses of successive crises of European diplomacy. The book was not written for those who need explanations of every diplomatic "incident" to which casual allusion might be made.

Professor Fay was undoubtedly right in thinking that, owing to the opening of the Russian, Austrian, and German archives by revolution and of the British archives to meet public criticism, the time had come when the war of 1914 could be studied more thoroughly than would ordinarily be possible for a generation or two after the close of hostilities. He might have added that such differences of opinion as still exist, and perhaps always will exist, as to the distribution of demerit among the belligerent powers are due less to lack of evidence than to the fact that different judges will view the same evidence from different points of view. To this day historians are not in accord as to whether Prussia in the Seven Years' War, France in 1792, Prussia and France in 1870, were more sinned against or sinning. Why expect a unique agreement as to 1914?

The school of thought which has been termed "revisionism" includes views so diverse that the term is hardly worth preserving. If Professor Fay be called a "revisionist" some new word must be coined for those who believe that the war arose from a Franco-Russian conspiracy. His book stands almost equidistant between the wartime propaganda of such writers as James M. Beck and the viewpoint indicated in Professor Harry Elmer Barnes's *Genesis of the World War*. The reviewer can not find in it a trace of partizanship. In many places Professor Fay specifically repudiates unwelcome allies of the "extreme left" (e.g., I. vi, 14, 243, 524, 527; II. 549). He is still of the opinion that Count Berchtold, who almost single-handed determined Austria's foreign policy at the crisis, "more than anyone else, was responsible for the World War" (I. 18). His summary of the attitude of individual statesmen (I. 352) is the best that has yet been made and is worth quoting in full:

As one reads the complicated diplomatic negotiations of the years immediately preceding the War one gets the impression, beyond all doubt, that Sir Edward Grey was the man who most sincerely and tirelessly placed the Concert of Europe above the interests of any single Power or group. Next to him in support of the Concert of Europe would come Bethmann-Hollweg and the German Secretary of State, Kiderlen-Wächter; but Kiderlen died in December, 1912, and after that the German Chancellor was less able to make his influence prevail over that of Tirpitz and the Kaiser. In France, M. Poincaré was more interested in the solidarity of the Triple Entente than in the Concert of Europe; but in order to preserve the confidence and friendship of England, which was one of his primary aims, he also frequently took the lead in steps for initiating or upholding collective action by the Powers. Sazonov and Izvolski cared less for the Concert of Europe, and Count Berchtold least of all.

Germany's responsibility was both real and important, though of a negative order (II. 223):

The Kaiser and his advisers on July 5 and 6 [1914] were not criminals plotting the World War; they were simpletons putting "a noose about their necks" and handing the other end of the rope to a stupid and clumsy adventurer [Berchtold, presumably] who now felt free to go as far as he liked. In so doing they were incurring a grave responsibility for what happened later.

An Austrian critic might, indeed, point out that Germany had more selfish motives than mere loyalty to an ally in supporting the Austro-Hungarian Near Eastern policy; that beyond the Serbian villages lay the golden vision of Bagdad. A Russian might urge that since German support alone made the Austrian policy feasible the partnership of the two was a partnership of equal responsibility. Still the fact remains that the war-like initiative was Austria's and that Germany's part in their joint policy was always secondary and sometimes reluctant.

The first volume is a review of diplomatic history from the Franco-Prussian war to 1914. The road is a familiar one, but Professor Fay has used the volumes of *Die Grosse Politik* freely in gaining new light on old problems. His judgments on particular problems are interesting, though only a few can be mentioned: Alsace-Lorraine was really French at heart and its annexation, if not a crime, at any rate a blunder (I. 51); Bismarck was not responsible for the war scare of 1875 (I. 58), nor for the Schnaebeler incident (I. 103), nor yet for deliberately sowing ill-will between France and Italy (I. 80-81); Baron Holstein's influence was the main factor in preventing a renewal of the Reinsurance Treaty (I. 92), but this fact was not the sole or even the main cause of the Franco-Russian alliance (I. 95); "the first years of the Franco-Russian Alliance tended to strengthen rather than endanger the peace of Europe" (I. 124); Sir Edward Grey's "great responsibility and mistake" was to permit Anglo-French military and naval understandings while still holding to the illusion that they left England diplomatically uncommitted to France (I. 193, 323); the deliberate encirclement of Germany by an iron ring of enemies was a myth, "the product of German imagination, fear, and suspicion" (I. 243); both Germany and Russia worked hard to avoid war over Morocco (I. 290-293); Izvolski was mainly responsible for reopening the delicate question of the Straits (I. 414-426); Sazonov usually took a very cautious and moderate position at times of crisis (I. 524-531); Germany, even more than Italy, was responsible for restraining Austria from an attack on Serbia in 1913 (I. 448-455).

The second volume deals wholly with the crisis of 1914. It contains a very detailed account of the Sarajevo assassination and devotes rather more space to the less familiar field of Balkan politics than to the high politics of the Great Powers. Much use is made of the Austrian accounts of the trial of the conspirators, and there is a prolonged controversy, marked with perhaps a touch of acerbity, with the eminent British historian R. W. Seton-Watson as to the responsibility of the Serbian government. Professor Fay concedes as "perfectly certain that Mr. Pashitch

and his cabinet had nothing to do with the originating of the assassination" (II. 145) but he holds, on circumstantial evidence, that they must have eventually become aware of the plot. He believes that this knowledge induced the Serbian ministers, who did not at the moment want war, to send a general warning to Austria that Franz Ferdinand should beware of assassination or stay away from Sarajevo, but unfortunately, from fear of being compromised by the investigations that would result, they did not dare make their warning explicit enough to prevent what happened. This is admittedly speculative, but seems on the whole the most probable explanation of Serbia's dubious and ambiguous official attitude on the eve of the assassination.

Professor Fay's analysis of the attitude of the Great Powers in July, 1914, is on lines familiar to those who have read his studies in the *American Historical Review* and elsewhere. He offers satisfactory proof that the Konopischt meeting did not deal with general plans of European conquest, as at one time asserted by H. Wickham Steed, but chiefly with the laudable aim of improving neighborly relations between Austria-Hungary and Rumania (II. 32-43), and dissipates whatever might be left in any reader's mind of the Potsdam Council legend (II., ch. IV.). He proves that Austria at no time made a sincere attempt to come to agreement with Russia on the Serbian question, and that the legend that the Kaiser's declaration of war cut short an Austrian move for peace had no foundation (II. 521). He believes that Sazonov intended to keep the peace, but that in trying to use Russian mobilization to put diplomatic pressure on Austria he precipitated the war which he had not desired. He contends that the Russian general mobilization clearly antedated the German, and that mobilization meant war. On this last point the reviewer is not wholly in agreement. No doubt the military authorities were convinced that once general mobilization was undertaken peace was no longer possible (II. 479-481, 524-525, 554), but Professor Fay himself states that many of the highest civilian authorities, rulers, cabinet members, diplomats, were of a different opinion (II. 525, 554). May not one cause of the war have been the "inferiority complex" of the civil authorities, especially in Russia and Germany, which led them needlessly to surrender their right to the last word in deference to the "technical reasons" of the army chiefs?

There is but one major limitation to Professor Fay's study. It never really "gets outdoors". Only the most incidental references are made to such factors as nationalism, racial myths, jingo literature, class antagonisms, business interests, colonial dreams, popular ideals and passions. It is not at all the same war as was seen by the "man in the street", whether Wall Street or Main Street; it is wholly the war as seen by a group of not more than a hundred professional diplomats, playing their chess games with human lives as though it were still the eighteenth century. No doubt Professor Fay is right when he says that "It is not so much questions of economic rivalry as those of prestige, boundaries,

armies and navies, the Balance of Power, and possible shiftings in the system of alliances which . . . raise the temperature in Foreign Offices to the danger point" (I. 46), but a greater amount of space devoted to such topics as industrialism in Germany, divisive nationalism in Austria-Hungary, revolutionary socialism in Russia, and liberal pacifism in England would explain better the limitations within which the diplomats did their work.

On the other hand, special praise must be accorded to Professor Fay for recognizing the human factor among the diplomats themselves. Tisza, Bülow, Poincaré, Franz Ferdinand, and the rest are not to him, nor to any who have once read his work, mere symbols in a diplomatic equation. They become men, in the main well-meaning men, but with vanities, jealousies, and spurts of temper which go far to explain why they bungled their work. Very pregnantly he offers the suggestion that many of the peace proposals of July, 1914, failed merely because the officials at the foreign offices had brains too dulled with anxiety and want of sleep to comprehend their opportunities. "If one is to understand how it was that experienced and trained men occasionally failed to grasp fully the sheaves of telegrams put into their hands at frequent intervals, how their proposals were sometimes confused and misunderstood, how they quickly came to be obsessed with pessimistic fears and suspicions, and how in some cases they finally broke down and wept, one must remember the nerve-racking psychological effects of continued work and loss of sleep, combined with the consciousness of the responsibility for the safety of their country and the fate of millions of lives" (II. 288-289). The great engine of traditional European diplomacy thundered down the track, past the danger signals, and on to destruction because the engineers either slept or fumbled the levers of power with slow and awkward fingers.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Volume III., *The Testing of the Entente, 1904-1906.* Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., with the assistance of LILLIAN M. PENSON, Ph.D. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. xlii, 487. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE editors of this invaluable series are to be congratulated upon the rapidity with which their volumes are appearing. The first, second, and eleventh volumes, already reviewed in this journal (XXXII. 600; XXXIII. 648), dealt with England's abandonment of splendid isolation, her Entente with France, and the diplomatic crisis of July, 1914. The present volume tells the tangled story of the Franco-Spanish Moroccan Agreement and the long diplomatic crisis with Germany down through the Algeiras Conference and the summer of 1906.

M. Delcassé had early fixed his eye on Morocco. In 1900 he had secretly recognized Italian aspirations in Tripoli in return for Italy's recognition of French aspirations in Morocco. In 1902 he had negotiated with Spain for dividing Morocco into French and Spanish spheres of influence; but no agreement was finally signed, because Spain wanted to take England and Germany into confidence. Delcassé was soon convinced that French control over Morocco was not to be secured without English consent, so, dropping the negotiations with Spain, he secretly arranged directly with England the Moroccan agreement of 1904. But he was determined not to let Germany have a word to say on the subject; his ambassador in London had told Lord Lansdowne in 1902 that "Germany had no concern in Morocco"; if at any moment she attempted to assume a conspicuous rôle, it should be intimated to her that she had no *locus standi*. To be sure, shortly before the Entente was signed, Delcassé indicated to Prince Radolin, the German ambassador, quite informally after dinner, that negotiations were on foot with England touching many subjects including Morocco. But after the Entente agreements were signed and printed in the newspapers (except certain secret articles concerning Morocco), Delcassé studiously avoided notifying them officially to Germany, either because he feared Germany might naturally use the opportunity to claim some compensations, or more probably, as Lord Sanderson, the British under-secretary, later believed, because "there is no doubt that M. Delcassé was steadily pursuing a series of manoeuvres for the purpose of isolating Germany and weakening her alliances" (III. 421).

Delcassé's "diplomatic oversight" (III. 68), as Lord Lansdowne euphemistically termed it, was in striking contrast to the action of the British, who at once entered into discussion with the Germans in regard to Egypt and found them not unreasonable. In spite of Delcassé's after-dinner conversation with Prince Radolin, and in spite of Bülow's assumed optimism in his Reichstag discussion of the Anglo-French Entente a few weeks later—which Lord Sanderson, shrewdly reading between the lines, regarded "as an invitation to Great Britain and France to discuss in due course its bearings on German interests" (III. 421)—one must take *cum grano salis* Delcassé's later professions of injured innocence in assuring England that the French government was "entirely unable to understand the attitude which the German Government has lately taken up", and which "certainly could not be justified upon the ground that Germany had been kept in the dark with regard to the Anglo-French Agreement and its effects upon the position of France in Morocco" (III. 69).

When many months had passed since the signing of the Anglo-French Moroccan Agreement and Delcassé had still made no move to consult Germany but was preparing to force French plans on the Sultan of Morocco by the Taillandier mission, Bülow by sending the Kaiser to Tangier served notice that Germany wished to be consulted. This Tangier visit and the German diplomatic pressure which followed was

interpreted by the French as an effort to separate England from France, break up the Entente, and prevent it from developing into an alliance (III. 75). This interpretation was accepted in England (III. 168, 400, 421), and had the natural effect of solidifying instead of rupturing the Entente. On April 22 and May 17, 1905, Lord Lansdowne stated to the French that he was ready to join them in opposing strongly any German demand for a port in Morocco, and that he thought England and France ought to treat each other with the utmost confidence and discuss in advance all possible contingencies (III. 73, 76). These statements did not at all constitute a formal offer of alliance, but they were apparently exaggerated by the French as being such, and originated in the summer of 1905 the rumor, flatly denied by the English, of an Anglo-French offensive and defensive alliance. A little later came the pregnant Anglo-French military and naval "conversations", which Sir Edward Grey thought left his "hands free", but which gradually came to constitute a moral, if not legal, obligation to give France armed support.

The story of the Algeciras Conference fills a third of the volume, and supplements *Die Grosse Politik*, but does not add greatly to what we already know from it, from Tardieu's book, and from other sources.

The most interesting and altogether new materials in this volume are the various documents giving British views of Germany: Sir Charles Hardinge's solemn account of his long talk with the Kaiser at Cronberg in the summer of 1906; Lord Haldane's diary, written for the private eye of King Edward, of his frank but friendly discussions with the Kaiser, Bülow, Moltke, and Tschirschky, when he went to Berlin to study the German army organization preparatory to his own reorganization of the British army; and the shrewd reports of the English ambassador, Sir Frank Lascelles, which are all the more valuable because his wit, tact, and good sense always enabled him to keep on intimate and friendly terms with the Kaiser as well as with Holstein and the Wilhelmstrasse officials. His account of Holstein's resignation is vivid, though he is not quite certain as to its cause. He describes the Kaiser "as a man possessed of great knowledge and ability, and endowed with remarkable personal charm, but impulsive, rash, with an undue sensitiveness" as to Germany's importance, and his own, in the world; he "is really animated by the most pacific sentiments, and . . . his great ambition now is that his name should be handed down to posterity as that of the German Emperor who kept the peace" (III. 437-438). Most interesting and valuable of all, as coming from a man who was to exert a strong influence on Sir Edward Grey in the coming years, is Sir Eyre Crowe's 10,000-word review of German policy, with his emphasis on the balance of power theory, his deep suspicion of Germany's desire for hegemony, and his strong denunciation of German intrigues and ingratitude. Lord Sanderson wrote a counter-memorandum, correcting or denying many of his statements. But Sir Edward Grey marked Crowe's memorandum "most valuable . . . most helpful as a guide to policy . . . contains information and reflections, which should be carefully studied" (III. 420). SIDNEY B. FAY.

Lord Grey and the World War. By HERMANN LUTZ, translated by E. W. DICKES. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. 346. \$5.00.)

MR. LUTZ enjoys an extraordinarily wide knowledge of Anglo-Saxon political thought and magazine literature and opinion, which enables him to see more clearly than the rest of his countrymen the English point of view. At the same time he combines with this knowledge an amazingly thorough acquaintance with German diplomatic history and especially with the monumental collection of secret archive material recently published in *Die Grosse Politik*. It was therefore a wise choice which led to his selection as editor of the German edition of the eleventh volume of "British Documents" relating to the crisis of July, 1914. Furthermore, he has paid much attention to the study of psychoanalysis, and rightly uses light from this source to interpret the thoughts and acts of important pre-war personages. He is thus well equipped to give a most searching and satisfactory analysis of the baffling problem of Sir Edward Grey's personality and policy in the years preceding the war.

The problem is baffling because Viscount Grey's charming post-war memoir, *Twenty-five Years*, makes at first reading such a convincing impression of simplicity, honesty, and love of peace. This also is the testimony of most Englishmen who knew him intimately, as well as of the ambassadors who came in closest contact with him, like Cambon, Page, and Lichnowsky. Yet his memoir contains many passages which it is difficult to reconcile with other material now available; he failed to prevent a world war; and his influence was the most potent single force which drove a hesitating and divided British Cabinet into participation in the war.

In this volume Mr. Lutz picks to pieces, critically, even mercilessly, but not altogether unsympathetically, with voluminous citation of authorities, the narrative which Viscount Grey has given in *Twenty-five Years*. He shows Grey's early and increasing suspicion of Germany; his large dependence on the very strong pro-Entente advice of Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir Eyre Crowe; his inability to "face reality" in thinking that after the military and naval "conversations" entered into with France in 1905-1906 he still had his "hands free", whereas in reality they were so tied by a moral obligation to France that he intimated to the Cabinet that he would feel obliged to resign if his colleagues did not follow him in 1914 in giving France armed support. Mr. Lutz pictures Grey as "gentle in personal life, full of good will and good feeling. A thoughtful, true, and loyal friend; a harsh and bitter enemy. No Machiavelli, and subjectively no hypocrite; nor the hawk-headed evil spirit with rapacious clawed fingers that many Germans imagined during the War. No true statesman. A man with a narrow insularity of outlook, his view dimmed by strong predilections and deep prejudices; unconscious of the enormous encouragement which his Entente policy gave to the nationalists in power in Russia and France. Accessible to suggestion and greatly

under the influence of auto-suggestion. A man who came unwillingly to his post; who imagined that he was steering his ship with a sure hand, unaware that other hands were also on the wheel; who imagined himself free and saw nothing of the thousand threads of his own spinning that had combined into an unbreakable tow-rope and towed him in the course of others" (p. 193).

Mr. Lutz concludes, rightly we believe, that Grey did not fully realize the selfish aims of Russian diplomacy, supported by the French. "Great Britain was the dominant factor for both sides, and was in control of the situation; had she immediately and clearly stated her position world peace would have been saved. But Sir Edward Grey had not the competence as a statesman or, in consequence of his predilections and prejudices, the personal inclination to use his power entirely in the service of peace" (p. 300).

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Drafting of the Covenant. By DAVID HUNTER MILLER. Two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 555; iv, 857. \$15.00.)

MR. DAVID HUNTER MILLER was the legal representative of President Wilson in the inquiry which was set up to prepare the information for the Paris Peace Conference. He was therefore familiar with the legal and political and many of the economic questions involved in the peace negotiations before he went to Paris, and had a weighty voice in deciding upon the recommendations to be made to the President. At Paris he continued his work as one of the legal advisers to the American delegation and participated as legal expert in the preliminary conversations from which resulted the draft of the Covenant, as adviser to the President in the meetings of the Commission of the Peace Conference which considered the draft and finally prepared the text of the Covenant for approval by the Conference. Throughout the period of inception of the Covenant, Mr. Miller was in personal touch with the President and also with Colonel House. Understanding the importance of every step taken, he kept notes which have served to "refresh his memory" in the preparation of this important contribution to the genesis of the document which laid the foundations of a new era in international organization.

Since President Wilson was the protagonist for the League, it was owing largely to his insistence that the Covenant was included in the Peace Treaty (p. 76 ff.), and since he was the active Chairman of the Committee on the League of Nations of the Peace Conference, which prepared the Covenant (I. 85), Mr. Miller's position as the President's adviser makes his statements of the genesis of the Covenant an authentic pronouncement of the American understanding at the time. His work is valuable for two purposes—first, as an historical document of importance on the formation of the Covenant, its origins, the intentions of its sponsors, the varying views of different governments, and the process

of their reconciliation; and second, as an authentic source-book for the interpretation of the Covenant. Not the historian alone, but the international lawyer and statesman will find this book of increasing importance as the League grows in authority and the inevitable difficulties arise in adjusting its general language to particular situations. As the author says: "The idea of some people that an elaborate statute or charter can be so drafted as to have only one conceivable meaning in every given place, if written in 'plain English' as such people say, is a laughable delusion. In this sense there is no such thing as 'plain English' or 'plain' any other language" (I. 535). Not only constitutional but Biblical exegesis confirms this statement and bears testimony to the importance of having all the light possible thrown from an authoritative contemporary source on the meaning of the words used in a document upon which will be based the action of international assemblies and governments.

The book with its collection of documents may be fairly called a parliamentary history of the Covenant, corresponding to the parliamentary history of statutes upon which courts and legislatures so much depend in their interpretations. The fact that it was written by a man trained in the law is an advantage from this point of view. In the first volume the author describes in detail the conferences in which he took part with British and French experts, where the terms of the Covenant were worked out for presentation to the committee. He further gives an account of the meetings of the committee which he attended as legal adviser to President Wilson, the chairman, so that his record, completing the dry account of the minutes, makes it possible to follow through the ideas finally crystallized in the Covenant.

The second volume contains documents collected from scattered sources which are needed for the completion of the parliamentary history of the Covenant. It begins with the British Phillimore plan in the last year of the war, contains the American preliminary drafts and the drafts and suggestions submitted during the course of the discussion in committee. Furthermore, Mr. Miller has included the minutes of the Committee on the League of Nations, both the English and the French texts. This collection of material would be a great convenience and time-saver to students who have easy access to a great library, but its value in putting the original materials in the hands of editors, teachers, and thinking people all over the country, who would otherwise have difficulty in consulting them, is an important service to the understanding of the Covenant.

The author makes evident throughout the close attention which the President gave to the Covenant both in conference with him and his other advisers (I. 62, 172, 331, 475) and as chairman of the committee of the Conference (p. 324). The close attention with which the President followed the text till its final draft is evident in his correction of an important modification which appeared after the text had been reported by the committee and was in the hands of the Drafting Commit-

tee of the Conference (I. 503). He gives the President full credit for his determination in forcing the inclusion of the Covenant of the League in the Peace Treaty, as to which the author says: "The wisest of Wilson's many wise decisions was to put and to keep the League in the Treaty of Peace" (I. 549).

Not the least interesting passages in this book are those containing comments on the difficulties resulting from the formal decision that "the Peace Treaty should be printed in French and English languages, which should be the official languages of the Treaty" (I. 505). Mr. Miller shows that the original text was prepared in English by the American and English experts and finally that "the English text was the only text passed on by the Drafting Committee as a Committee" (I. 511, 515). The French text was therefore based on the English and the author gives a number of instances of the ingenuity required in rendering precisely into French, expressions which may be doubtful or vague in English (I. 532, 535).

If the writing makes the exact man, translating will carry accuracy to the highest power, and while phrasing in another language what seemed clear in his own, the author may stumble upon unexpected doubts. The difficulty in putting into French the English expression "self-governing" is a case in point (p. 523).

The book contains a general subject-index and in addition an index by articles of the Covenant, which will add very greatly to its value as legislative history of the Covenant, and as a source-book for its interpretation.

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Works Council: a German Experiment of Industrial Democracy.

By C. W. GUILLEBAUD, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company.
1928. Pp. x, 305. 16 s.)

In the twentieth century "Laborism" is becoming to "Capitalism" what, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, capitalism was to feudalism. The constitutions of political governments were revolutionized when the feudal and ecclesiastical hierarchy gave way to the modern capitalistic state. And the constitution of the state itself is again revolutionized when capitalism yields to the domination or participation of laborism.

Australia seems to have led the way. There, for thirty years, compulsory arbitration has incorporated the "shop rules" of labor unions into the very common law of Anglo-Norman jurisprudence and the law merchant of capitalistic jurisprudence; and a labor party vies with a capitalist party. In England, the Whig succession of Liberals has practically disappeared and laborism confronts capitalism. In Russia proletariate dictatorship wipes out feudalism, ecclesiasticism and capitalism. In Italy capitalistic dictatorship compels all workmen to be members of

labor unions, and the state itself—if it may retain that name—is a representation of business and labor. Now, for Germany, we have, for the first time in the English language, an authoritative and documentary account of the national collective agreement between the trade unions led by Legien, the German Gompers, and the capitalists led by Stinnes, then the German Pierpont Morgan, eliminating Monarchism and creating the Republic. This trade agreement was written into the Constitution and named by Legien the Magna Carta of Labor (p. 4). It prohibited the employers' company unions, long since installed to exclude labor unions and known by the unionists as "yellow unions". In their place the great charter, confirmed in detail by the legislative act of 1920, ordered these "works councils", which Guillebaud describes, to be installed in the factories of the employers.

These works councils, in the shops, are composed of employees alone, the employer having no right to attend their meetings unless invited. The council is elected by vote of all the employees. The council coöperates with the employer in promoting efficiency, introducing new labor methods, establishing shop rules, settling disputes, and executing awards. It defends the workers' right of association, hears appeals, coöperates with the factory inspectors, and participates in administering welfare schemes. The employer can not discharge a labor leader except by consent of the works council, or on appeal to a labor court.

Thus Germany establishes by its Constitution and laws "industrial democracy" within the shops. How does it work? Nine-tenths of the book answers this question. The outstanding facts seem to be that it works where the unions get control by electing the works councils; that the unions themselves now give their major attention to the formulation and enforcement of shop rules protecting individuals within the capitalist system, where formerly they were an annex to the Socialist party that tried to elevate labor as a mass by ousting the system; and that the Socialist party becomes a labor party. Thus from Australia to Russia, from England to Italy and Germany, the twentieth century sees, except in America, as many different political experiments as there are nations attempting to revolutionize the capitalist state into an industrial government within the shops and factories.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

The Far East, a Political and Diplomatic History. By PAYSON J. TREAT, Ph.D., Professor of History in Stanford University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. x, 549. \$4.00.)

To the monographs on Japanese-American relations by which he has made all students of Far Eastern history his debtors, Professor Treat has now added an excellent general survey of the recent political and diplomatic history of Japan, China, and the adjacent countries. A brief survey is given of the history and culture of Japan and China before the coming of the Westerner. This is followed by a summary, still brief, but some-

what more detailed, of the intercourse between these lands and the Occident, and of internal political developments down to 1895. This in turn is followed by a section, comprising the final two-fifths of the book, on developments since 1895. There are also chapters on the Philippines and Indo-China.

In any work covering so extensive a field the critic, if he is disposed to be at all captious, is certain to discover flaws. There is still doubt—which the author does not recognize—whether (p. 16) the name “China” is derived from the Ch’in dynasty. The year of the death of John of Montecorvino, the first Roman Catholic missionary to China, is highly uncertain and not necessarily 1328 (p. 48). There is serious question whether Laotzū ever lived, and the short summary of the teaching attributed to him (p. 29) is misleading.

In addition to these and a few other minor errors is a characteristic of the book which some readers will deem a more serious defect—a tendency to defend Japanese policies. This is easily understandable. So much criticism of Japan—a large proportion of it hopelessly biased and inaccurate, and often voiced by men of supposedly reputable scholarship—has been heard in the United States, that any one with a decent respect for accuracy in writing for Americans almost unconsciously takes the opposite side. Professor Treat has used great care not to go beyond what can be supported by documents, and he frankly recognizes that at times Japan has been seriously at fault—as in the unfortunate Twenty-one Demands. He is, too, fair to the other governments with whom his narrative deals. Occasionally, however, he takes a position which is open to debate, as when (p. 441) he says of Japan’s attack on Tsingtao in 1914: “Unlike the Germans, who smashed their way through Belgium in spite of heroic resistance, the Japanese advanced across Shantung with the permission of China.” Technically China permitted the Japanese to cross her territory, but the Japanese were determined to utilize Chinese territory, and China’s proclamation of a war zone was a vain attempt to preserve the appearance of self-respect and to set limits to Japanese activities. Usually, however, what Professor Treat has to say in defense or extenuation of Japan badly needs saying to Americans, and he invariably speaks his mind with a good temper and restraint which go far to disarm criticism.

By the self-imposed and clearly defined limits of the book only diplomatic and political phases of recent Far Eastern history are treated at all fully. Other, and important, phases of the story are only briefly touched upon. For a full-rounded account of what the last century and a half have seen in the Far East one must supplement the volume by other works.

When all of these strictures and comments have been made, however, the fact remains that Professor Treat has here given us one of the two or three brief accounts of the recent political and diplomatic history of the Far East that we have in any language.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Moeurs et Histoire des Indiens Peaux-Rouges. Par RENÉ THÉVENIN et PAUL COZE. (Paris: Payot. 1928. Pp. 346. 30 fr.)

THIS book is not exactly what one might be led to expect from the title. Instead of a general account of the customs and of the history of the American Indians, we have here a book dealing exclusively with the Indians of the United States, and almost exclusively with the tribes of the Western plains. This limitation of the subject is unfortunate, as the culture of native America, with all of its local differentiation, rested upon the same foundation. No satisfactory analysis of the culture of a group of tribes in any particular geographical area is possible without some reference to the culture of other areas, and particularly to the traits which seem, through thousands of years, to have radiated in all directions from Middle America.

The first, and more valuable portion of the book, is devoted to a description of the geographical environment and of the culture of the Plains Indians and the second part is a disjointed, episodic history of their contact with the whites, of the Indian wars, and of the gradual conquest of the West. The narrative begins with a brief account of the earliest relations of the Spanish, the French, and the English with the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard. There are short references to the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, and the Indian War of 1811; but most of the history consists of anecdotes of the wars in the West during the nineteenth century. Neither part contains anything which is not already available to English readers in books easily accessible, but the book gives a much more complete account of the Plains Tribes than has heretofore been available in French, except in the volumes of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*.

Both for the description of customs and for the narrative the authors have made good use of good authorities, but one wonders what authorities were used in writing the paragraph devoted to the American Civil War. The difficult question of tribal nomenclature has apparently been solved by using in different parts of the book whichever form of a tribal name was used by the particular authority on which each part was based, with the confusing result that the same tribe may be mentioned under half a dozen different names. For example—of the 173 names by which the Shawnees have been called by different authors, this book uses indiscriminately "Chawnies", "Shawnies", "Shawnees", "Shawanos", and "Shawanèses".

There is a brief bibliography containing only the titles of the principal books used by the authors. Curiously enough Wissler's *The American Indian* and Radin's *The Story of the American Indian*—both of which would have been most useful in preparing a compilation of this kind—are omitted from the bibliography.

For a book published in French and containing a great many English words and names, the errors in English are comparatively few. The omission of "a" or "the" sometimes gives a curious effect, and the "s" of the plural is sometimes used incorrectly and sometimes omitted. The reviewer finds the phrase "gesture sings on signal" utterly incomprehensible. There are "Ralegh" for Raleigh; "Harisson" for Harrison; "Well and Fargo" for Wells, Fargo; and other similar errors.

The book is profusely illustrated with 50 photographs and with 383 well-executed drawings—some of them in color—covering such subjects as the different types of habitations, fire drills, canoes, head-dress, pipes, pictographs, etc. Most of the drawings are placed in an appendix, and the explanations which accompany them are the only technical anthropological material in the book.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

The Headquarters Papers of the British Army in North America during the War of the American Revolution: a Brief Description of Sir Henry Clinton's Papers in the William L. Clements Library. By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS. [William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Bulletin no. 14.] Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library. 1926. Pp. 47. \$1.50.)

The Papers of Lord George Germain: a Brief Description of the Stopford-Sackville Papers now in the William L. Clements Library. By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS. [William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Bulletin no. 18.] (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library. 1928. Pp. 46. \$1.50.)

THESE preliminary reports from the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, dealing respectively with the Clinton and Germain papers, remind us again of the important bodies of manuscript material, which have lately found their way across the Atlantic. They include not only notable series of transcripts, like those in the Library of Congress, but also, as in this case, extensive collections of original papers. These acquisitions, taken in connection with the Shelburne Papers, also recently added to the Clements Library, furnish an impressive example of what may be done for our future historians through the collaboration of academic scholarship with the skill and enthusiasm of the experienced collector. Though comprehensive and detailed inventories are not attempted, Mr. Adams has presented some attractive samples of what future investigators may expect to find. Both reports are good specimens of generous bookmaking, with excellent illustrations, chiefly photographic reproductions of selections from the correspondence.

Though the primary interest of the Clinton Papers (acquired in 1925) is in the correspondence of Sir Henry Clinton and in the new light which his papers throw on many important phases of our War for Independence, students of colonial history should also take note of the documents—more

than a thousand in all—from the files of his father, Admiral George Clinton, for many years royal governor of New York. Among the many notable items in Sir Henry's files, a special human interest attaches to Arnold's correspondence with the British headquarters, still awaiting exploitation by American historians. Another unique opportunity offered to future investigators at Michigan is that of examining in the same library the Clinton and Nathanael Greene papers for the Southern campaigns. Among the printed books included in the collection are copies, annotated by Sir Henry himself, of the books and pamphlets issued in the "Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy". Clinton's own history of his campaigns never reached the press, but is now, with his "scholarly footnotes and citations", housed with the manuscripts at Ann Arbor. Other interesting features are a large number of intercepted letters from American leaders and, last but not least, an extensive collection of maps executed by British engineer officers.

The "Germain Papers", described in the reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts as the "Stopford-Sackville Papers", were acquired by Mr. Clements, with certain indicated exceptions, in 1927. Of this collection also a substantial part antedates the Revolutionary era, including much interesting material on the Seven Years War, in which the future Lord Germain played so unfortunate a rôle. Mr. Adams mentions "superb Wolfe letters", also important correspondence of the elder Pitt and several of his political rivals and associates. For this collection, as for the Clinton Papers, the centre of interest is naturally in the period from 1775 to 1782, when Germain as colonial secretary directed the campaigns in America. Mr. Adams observes, however, that Germain's correspondence for the preceding decade contains many comments on American affairs and that he assembled much material bearing on the political controversies of that period. One important item noted is the manuscript volume made up from copies of the correspondence of Franklin, Thomas Pownall, and Samuel Cooper (the letters of the two latter as yet mainly unpublished). This was apparently prepared for George III. by Benjamin Thompson, subsequently Count Rumford, who was for a time one of Germain's protégés. One letter, partially reproduced in facsimile, shows young Thompson carrying his loyalism to the point of serving as a spy on the American army in Cambridge. More important is the fresh matter about the costly bungling on both sides of the Atlantic which brought on the disaster at Saratoga. Finally Mr. Adams describes the large folio volume—"virgin soil" for the historian—which contains the secret and confidential despatches sent by Germain to America during his seven years service between 1775 and 1782.

In view of the positions held by Clinton and Germain, the most obvious value of these collections is on the military side. There are indications, however, here and there, that the social historian will find new grist for his mill.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Turning Point of the Revolution or Burgoyne in America. By HOFFMAN NICKERSON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. x, 500. \$6.00.)

THIS is the most complete study yet made of the campaigns of 1777, and has very evidently involved original research of a type not likely to be done over again at any time in the near future. In many respects, particularly as far as the American sources are concerned, it almost might be called the final word on the subject. It becomes increasingly clear that the catastrophe of the British army in the autumn of 1777 was due to no one single cause, but to a multitude of contributing factors, among which were Germain's casual attitude toward the conduct of the Revolution, Burgoyne's pride, Howe's wrong-headedness (whether intentional or unintentional), and last but not least, the fact that the Americans not only fought, but fought well.

The book is not documented in the orthodox fashion; that is, it has no foot-notes. It has, however, thirteen appendixes in which controverted points are discussed. The author defends this practice with a reference to Michelet's comment that no amount of quotation can make a dull history interesting. While one is not likely to dispute that point, there still remains the question of whether a less brilliant writer than Michelet might not increase the real value and service done by his work if he did document it. Just before the appearance of the present volume, there came from the press the late Mr. F. J. Hudleston's *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (1927), which, with whatever faults, is certainly a keen and suggestive book on the Burgoyne campaign. Mr. Hudleston's book is of the type that can dispense with scholarly apparatus, but that having been done, the scholar might perhaps be forgiven if he retains a furtive regret that Mr. Nickerson did not take advantage of his opportunity to supply the documentation for which investigators of the Burgoyne campaign must still wait.

As to Burgoyne, it is doubtful whether we can "set aside the question of (Burgoyne's) self interest . . ." (p. 57). There is some question whether all, from Burgoyne down, believed that Howe's army from New York was about to advance northward to meet them (p. 187). When Balcarres was under fire in the parliamentary investigation which followed the surrender, he certainly was at great pains to evade committing himself on this very point, and rather pointedly made it clear that the rest of the army had nothing but Burgoyne's confidence to guide them. (See Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition from Canada*, 1780, p. 37.)

As to Clinton, it is not quite right to make him share Germain's casual attitude toward the war. Mr. Nickerson attributes to Clinton the remark (made to Burgoyne), "I own to you I think the business will quickly be over now". This is an excellent example of an error which inevitably creeps in from lack of a full consideration of the Sir Henry Clinton Papers (for which, because of their recent discovery, Mr. Nickerson can not be held responsible). The very despatch in which that phrase

occurs is, in fact, a faked-up and masked despatch. It was not intended to read that way, but, when the mask is applied, it gives Burgoyne the really terrifying information: "I own to you I think Sir W[illiam Howe]'s move [toward Philadelphia] just at this time [is] the worst he could take." (See R. G. Adams, *The British Headquarters Papers*, 1926, opp. p. 12.)

Moreover, it becomes increasingly doubtful, the more one reads the papers of Clinton and Germain (of which, through no fault of his own, Mr. Nickerson could not have made a thorough study), whether the North ministry, Germain, or anyone else ever thought of this campaign in terms of separating the New England states from the rest of the colonies, and "holding the line of the Hudson". That was a fine scheme probably thought up afterward in the parliamentary investigation in an effort to make the campaign seem a reasonable thing.

Other objections might be pointed out, but the reviewer would not leave a false impression; this is a very able book, one which will be of great service to scholars. It must be reckoned among the best of the detailed studies of the Revolution, based on sound and hard work.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

The Life of George Rogers Clark. By JAMES ALTON JAMES, Professor of American History in Northwestern University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiii, 534. \$5.00.)

THE approach of the sesquicentennial of George Rogers Clark's capture of the Western posts, and the appropriation by Congress and several Western states of large sums of money for monuments and memorials, have increased the demand for an adequate life of Clark. This has now come to hand in the stately volume of Professor James, who for nearly a score of years has consorted with Clark and the documents concerning his career. It seems strange that so interesting a subject should so long have awaited a biographer. Since Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites in 1903 issued his essay on "How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest" nothing with any pretensions to scholarship has appeared save as portions of historical works or fugitive articles in periodicals and biographical dictionaries. It may be that Temple Bodley's biography of 1926 should be excepted from this sweeping statement, but as Mr. Bodley's book was written with a bias, and was frankly put forth to prove that Clark was a perfect hero, it hardly comes within the scope of historical biography. James's life, on the other hand, is written not only with scholarly detachment and impersonal judgment, but is, so far as this reviewer knows, the only adequate interpretation of Clark's somewhat baffling and singular personality as well as the only full presentation of his earlier period of triumphant accomplishment and the later years of storm and bitterness.

It must not be forgotten that Clark's achievement both as warrior and pacifier was the work of a very young man, infused with the ardor and the

self-confidence of youth. He was less than twenty-seven years old when he led that desperate march against the British at Vincennes, and although he may seem thereafter like Achilles to have sulked in his tent, the inevitableness of reaction and the stern lessons of disappointment disciplined his eager soul and dragged him down from the heights attained.

Thenceforward he was more an opportunist than a statesman, a patriot with vision blurred and distorted by the mists of misunderstanding and detraction. It was a tortured soul that wrote: "I fixed myself a colossus for them to shoot their darts at but I believe they begin to discover they have no effect. I despise them and pity the publick." James thus portrays the situation: "Then scarcely forty years of age, proud, ambitious, with services seemingly unappreciated by his country, with prospects blighted, without employment, dependent on the generosity of his family, there was left to Clark, as he thought, only a life of obscurity." This in a measure accounts for his acceptance of commissions from Revolutionary France and his attempted filibuster into Spanish territory.

James's *Life* is, however, more than a biography of an eminent soldier, the conqueror of the West. It is, in effect, a history of the Revolution in the West, and of the troubled years that followed down to the Louisiana purchase. With the outstanding hero as the dominant figure, the author has skilfully woven into the texture of his book a reasoned and adequate account of the Western area in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. From French and Spanish archives he has obtained material which throws new light on the tangled diplomacy of France and Spain, and particularly on the share the latter nation had in aiding Clark and in supplementing his efforts by conquests of their own. On the much discussed question of the exact influence of Clark's activities on the settlement of the boundary at the Peace of Paris, James gives us nothing new. He does, after citing the several shades of opinion, give us as his own the belief that Clark's military control of the Northwest territory aided Shelburne in his determination to make the Mississippi and the Great Lakes the boundaries of the new nation. In the last third of the volume the author has contributed several valuable chapters on the American occupation of the Northwest, the Spanish conspiracy, and the overshadowing influence of the French during the blazing years of its Revolution—all of which had important results not for Clark alone, but for the nation in its infancy.

No more important work than this for the study of Western history has issued from the press in recent years. It may lack in dramatic fervor, although there is no finer description of the march on Vincennes than appears in chapter seven; it may in some parts be overweighted with details, but the whole is a well-wrought, thorough, and scholarly narrative of one of the most important periods and one of the most baffling personalities in the entire field of our history. No future historian can afford to neglect a careful perusal of this *Life*, and the general public will find therein information and pleasure.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume IV., January 1 to December 31, 1779. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1928. Pp. lxvi, 581. Unbound, \$5.00; bound, \$5.50.)

No other four volumes of contemporary Revolutionary material can come so near to telling the personal, political, and constitutional history of the American Revolution as do these volumes, bringing the letters of the members of Congress up to December 31, 1779. The amazing erudition which has been shown in editing them, the forethought for every need of the critical and scholarly reader, the accuracy and thoroughness of the work in every particular can hardly be overpraised. After twenty-five years of study of the American War for Independence, I find the editor constantly telling me things I did not know—and which are worth knowing. This last volume maintains the same high grade of judicious and valuable annotation which has marked the other three. There is the usual valuable list of members, the time of their election, their attendance and their absences. There is the same useful and trustworthy index. When the prefaces of the several volumes are read in their order, and together, they will form a concise and reliable history of the main activities of the Continental Congress.

The editor points out that the year 1779, barren in military accomplishment and almost so in diplomacy, was in politics and finance a time of storm and stress. Dark as was the outlook, none thought of surrender. Disappointments, anxieties, forebodings there were, but always hope. Over finance there was endless controversy, and like the sick man in his bed, Congress tried every position only to find each as bad as the last. The French ambassador urged them to get ready for the peace negotiations which would come anon, but beyond quarreling for months among themselves over what the treaty should contain as to the fisheries and the free navigation of the Mississippi, little was accomplished. There was enough diplomacy left in Congress to congratulate the King of France on the birth of a princess, and even to ask Louis for his portrait, but a hint went along with the request that a loan of a few million would come handy.

The intrigue of the Lees and the Adamses against Silas Deane drags on through interminable pages of these letters. Quarrels over paper money which was slipping daily deeper into Avernus consume even more pages; but still the inundation of paper buried the liberty of America ever deeper. Another cause of bitter discussion was the Western lands. Members of Congress also grew quite eloquent over the high cost of living in Philadelphia. The question of officers' pay and adequate support of the army went on until Washington wrote that there was little more than the skeleton of an army. The Confederation and the question of putting the executive business of Congress on a better basis are the subjects of many letters. Indeed, it would be hard to think of any vital subject concerned with the Revolutionary War which does not occasion large discussion in this valuable collection of letters. C. H. VAN TYNE.

Het Aandeel van den Amsterdamschen Handel aan den Opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest. Door Jhr. Dr. P. J. VAN WINTER. Eerste deel. (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1927. Pp. xxxvi, 240. 6 gulden.)

THIS study of Dutch-American economic history—of which only the first volume has appeared—may be mentioned with Bernard Faÿ's brilliant *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire*, not for clairvoyant style and limpid lucidity of thought and arrangement, but for being one of two very important books written in recent years by foreigners who have thoroughly exploited manuscript resources in the United States as well as in Europe. For years our historical investigators have been journeying to Europe for archival work, but the Europeans who have been coming to the United States for similar purposes might be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. Professor Faÿ had a subject which lent itself to style and the very nature of which tempted in advance the reader's appetite. Dr. van Winter, who seeks to show the part that Amsterdam trade had in building up the American republic, has nothing to deal with but dry economic facts, the flow of trade and of capital between the Netherlands and the new United States during and immediately after the War of Independence. He is careful to mention, at the outset, that the Hollanders, despite their traditional share in the colonization of New York and New Jersey, had little spiritual or political interest in the larger significance of the American Revolution. They were influenced by no French mirages of *exotisme*.

By the end of the eighteenth century the mercantile systems of the great colonial powers of Europe had painfully restricted the area for Dutch commercial purveyance and freighting. When the Revolution broke out the Netherlands saw in it not the proximate consummation of fond political utopias, but the chance of fat war-time profits—an avenue of riches which was all too quickly closed by the British seizure of St. Eustatius and the declaration of war against the Netherlands. More important than war-time profits was the new field anticipated for the expansion of cramped Dutch commerce into an independent United States freed from British navigation laws. But here too lay disappointment. After the war Dutch merchants, like their French competitors, could not deal successfully in America against the competition of established British houses in satisfying American tastes and demands for long-term credits. It was rather in the loans made to the government of the United States and the ultimate profit thereon that the Netherlands, that is, the Amsterdam bankers, profited from the American Revolution; and this volume might better have been entitled, "The Rôle of Amsterdam Capital in the Development of the American Republic". Of course, the infant United States benefited by these loans more than the Amsterdam bankers.

The loans and their payment have long since been itemized in such publications as R. A. Bayley's *National Loans*, but that is about all that

has ever been known about them. Dr. van Winter now traces the history of these loans on both sides of the Atlantic, those made during the war, and those made from 1783 to 1789. During these years the government of the Confederation staved off *absolute* bankruptcy abroad by borrowing Dutch money to pay arrears of interest on loans from France, then more Dutch florins to pay interest on the first Dutch loans (payment of the interest to France having meanwhile ceased), then still more Dutch gold to pay interest on the second and on successive Dutch loans, until, at the last gasp, the United States Constitution of 1787 was ratified (Dr. van Winter follows Beard on the economic interpretation of the Constitution, as he does Schlesinger on the economic interpretation of the Revolution) and the reorganization of the finances under the régime of Alexander Hamilton restored our credit at almost one jump. The Dutch bankers watched the American political situation carefully, doling out loans enough to pay interest due them on earlier ones; and, as the possibilities of a more perfect union increased, they really bet on the movement for the Constitution by buying up Continental securities in great amounts at cheap prices. Dr. van Winter describes some of the companies organized for such speculations, as well as the different banking firms, and individuals, Dutch and American—Gouverneur Morris, Daniel Parker, William Duer, and many others who were trying to sell American securities or put through deals in coöperation with Dutch capitalists for discounting with French assignats the American debt to France. These unsuccessful schemes bear no faint resemblance to present-day plans to discount the German reparations debt and peddle it out among innocent individual investors.

One great American collection of sources has been left untouched, but through no fault of the author, who explains that the documents are so thoroughly unorganized and badly housed as to be impossible of use—we allude to the archives of the Treasury Department. We hope that the long-hoped-for, long-proposed, long-studied, long-debated, and long-awaited national archive building may be built somewhere in Washington soon enough to spare another distinguished foreign scholar the disappointment experienced in this respect by Dr. van Winter.

The volume is extremely well printed. There is a careful and somewhat redundant bibliography of the kind natural to doctoral dissertations. An appendix includes a list of Dutch and other foreign owners of American securities, as well as a copy of John Adams's contract of 1784 with the Dutch banking triumvirate—Wilhem and Jan Willink, Nicolaas and Jacob van Staphorst, and de la Lande and Fynje; much more useful as an appendix would be a neat tabulation of all the American loans made from Dutch bankers, with terms, precise amounts subscribed, and manner of payment; and some calculation as to the amount of Dutch purchases of American securities. Perhaps this, and a badly needed index, will appear in the second volume.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

America's Ambassadors to France, 1777-1927, a Narrative of Franco-American Diplomatic Relations. By BECKLES WILLSON. (London: John Murray; New York: F. A. Stokes Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 433. \$5.00.)

A YEAR or so ago Colonel Beckles Willson published under the title *The Paris Embassy* a narrative of Franco-British diplomatic relations, 1814-1920. His interest in diplomatic history continues unabated. The more recent volume by Colonel Willson tells the story of the work of American ministers and ambassadors to France from Benjamin Franklin to Myron T. Herrick. Strictly speaking, the narrative closes in 1921 with the second appointment of Ambassador Herrick to France by President Harding. It focuses attention upon the personalities of thirty-five Americans, casting light upon the problems, varied and often perplexing, with which they were from time to time confronted. Eighteen of these men were appointed from three states, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York; Ohio supplied four, and Louisiana three. When in 1919 Hugh C. Wallace at President Wilson's request went from the state of Washington to Paris an ambassador, Wallace was the first man in the group to come from the Far West. Only two men, W. C. Rives of Virginia and Herrick of Ohio, have had thus far the distinction of serving twice in France. In respect to length of service Mr. Herrick, now occupying the position of ambassador, has exceeded the term of any predecessor. Regular changes of administration such as ours seldom give assurance that qualified men abroad will be retained beyond a limited period. British diplomats in France on the other hand have fared better than our own: Earl Cowley was British ambassador in Paris from 1852 to 1866; and his immediate successor there, Lord Lyons, occupied the position for the next twenty years.

The major portion of the narrative Colonel Willson has based upon the archives of the American legation in Paris, having had access to the letter-books and despatches there through the courtesy of Mr. Herrick and with the permission of the Department of State. Along the way he has made discriminating use of numerous sidelights such, for examples, as the diary of James Gallatin entitled *A Great Peacemaker*, an almost forgotten volume by Lewis Cass, *France, its King, Court, and Government* (1840), John Bigelow's *Retrospections of an Active Life*, Elihu B. Washburne's *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877*, and more recent records which he has gathered from *The Autobiography of T. Jefferson Coolidge*, the *Life of Whitclaw Reid* by Royal Cortissoz, *Robert Bacon* by James Brown Scott, and an autobiography left incomplete in manuscript by the late William Graves Sharp. These materials serve to give a fairly authoritative aspect to the book. Within its pages will be found vivid and often entertaining sketches of such men as Franklin, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, Gallatin, Richard Rush, Washburne, Reid, Horace Porter, and Hugh C. Wallace. All the minor figures find a place, although in these instances the author has not revealed much critical dis-

cernment. No one familiar with the career in France of John Y. Mason (1854-1859) could admit him to the group of men distinguished by any special ability.

In reflecting upon the failure of American diplomats to gain better salaries (p. 239), Colonel Willson is evidently unaware of the reforms in the service accomplished by the law of August 18, 1856. He ventures to correct Minister Washburne's statement that he regarded himself as forbidden by law to wear a court costume (p. 300). But, it may be asked, did not Mr. Washburne have in mind the wording of the statute on the subject of dress (March 27, 1867), which prohibited him "from wearing any uniform or official costume not previously authorized by Congress"? In more recent times that law has been interpreted with very great liberality, although, so far as I know, it remains the law today. To ascribe President Taft's failure in 1909 to reappoint Mr. Henry White to the Paris legation to a minor, if vexatious, personal disagreement between the two men many years earlier, will impress some readers as making much out of very little (pp. 378 ff.). There would seem to have been other more important considerations in the situation which brought Robert Bacon to Paris as White's successor. In the volume there are twenty-eight portraits. The proof-reading of the American edition has been done carelessly. An adequate index concludes the book.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Professor of American History on the Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College. Volume III. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1928. Pp. xxxiv, 464. Unbound, \$3.00; bound, \$4.00.)

WITH the third volume of *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* there comes to the reader a sorrowful reminder of the death, on January 27, 1928, of the editor, Professor John Spencer Bassett. With regard to the *Correspondence*, one learns with satisfaction that Professor Bassett, before he was overtaken by the fatal accident of last January, had brought to completion the editorial work for the whole of this series of volumes. For this third volume the introduction, extensive and enlightening, was prepared by Professor Bassett.

Whereas the second volume covered a period of something less than six years, that which falls into the third extends over nine, from 1820 to 1828 inclusive. This volume opens with General Jackson at home, but still in command of his military division, and preparing to get his troops in readiness for an attack upon the Floridas, in case Spain should pursue further her dilatory tactics with regard to the ratification of the Treaty of 1819. It was not necessary to take such action; and the general, after making, in June, 1820, a tour of inspection of the troops in his district, and after consenting reluctantly to negotiate in October another treaty

with the Choctaws, spent the winter of 1820-1821 at the Hermitage. Then in pursuance of instructions received from Secretary John Quincy Adams, he left again to receive possession of the Floridas and to be their governor. When the transfer of government had been accomplished and the general had once more resigned public office, there developed in 1822 his nomination for the Presidency by the members of the legislature of Tennessee, and his election, in 1823, to the Senate of the United States. After the campaign for the Presidency and the elections of 1824 and 1825 Jackson was once more put forward by Tennessee for President and resigned, October 12, 1825, his seat in the Senate. From this time to the end of 1828 practically all of the general's letters were written from his plantation, where, except for occasional journeys like that to New Orleans, in January, 1828, he continued to dwell, a private citizen.

This outline will make it easier briefly to characterize the *Correspondence* as printed in this volume. Throughout 1820 and 1821 the letters are in large part official, written to or by President Monroe, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, and John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War. Jackson was at this time on friendly terms with both Adams and Calhoun. In the Florida period, one finds the fiery and not very creditable correspondence with the dilatory Callava, the Spanish governor. In 1822 domestic matters—the general's crops and the education of young Donelson, Mrs. Jackson's nephew—figure largely, but the general's candidacy begins to occupy an important place. In the winter of 1823 and the spring of 1824 the general wrote very often from Washington to Mrs. Jackson, who was at home, and both he and General Eaton sought evidently to comfort her with accounts of Jackson's steady church-going. For 1825 and 1826 the correspondence is disappointingly limited in extent: but there are letters which voice the general's genuine indignation at the "corrupt bargain", and later much that illustrates the careful preparation for the next campaign. As one would expect, the political activity of that campaign is increasingly reflected in the expanding correspondence for 1827 and 1828.

It may be added that anyone who uses the *Correspondence* should constantly refer to the List of Letters and Papers Printed Elsewhere than in This Volume which follows the Table of Contents. The bulk of this previously printed matter will be found in the *American State Papers*, the "Lewis Correspondence" printed in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for 1900, and in the newspapers. Some of the letters and papers in this volume of the *Correspondence*, in fact over six per cent., have been printed before; and in view of this it seems to the reviewer that Professor Bassett might well have reprinted here, as throwing light on Jackson's opinion as to banks, the important letter of Jackson to Lewis of July 16, 1820, in which the general vehemently argued against the Tennessee loan office then under consideration.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy. Edited by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. Volume V.: *Daniel Webster* (first part), by CLYDE A. DUNIWAY; *Abel P. Upshur*, by RANDOLPH G. ADAMS; *John C. Calhoun*, by ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT; *James Buchanan*, by ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT; volume VI.: *John Middleton Clayton*, by MARY W. WILLIAMS; *Daniel Webster* (second part), by CLYDE A. DUNIWAY; *Edward Everett*, by FOSTER STEARNS; *William Learned Marcy*, by H. BARRETT LEARNED; *Lewis Cass*, by LEWIS EINSTEIN; *Jeremiah Sullivan Black*, by ROY F. NICHOLS. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. x, 436; x, 457. \$4.00 each.)

VOLUME V. presents more material which has not previously been reduced to usable form, and more critical judgments upon disputed historical questions, than any other of the series as yet issued. It is the least carefully edited. On page vii, the year 1841 is made to do incredible things that happened neither then, nor in any other one year.

The first study is by C. A. Duniway, who in 64 pages discusses Webster's twenty-six months of office. Often as this period has been treated, the author has succeeded in giving it a new clarity, particularly by the masterly analysis of the documents. This very emphasis on the documents, however, creates a somewhat distorted impression, as it was characteristic of Webster's chief negotiation that it was so largely carried on by conversation. For the same reason the neglect of the social background, which is true of most of the sketches, is here more important than usual, as good fellowship and conviviality were its atmosphere. Webster's interests outside the Ashburton negotiation, as in California, are scantied.

One feels also that an opportunity has been lost for a genuine historic critique. Why did Webster, who is universally admitted, or asserted, to have been the better player, lose most of the tricks? He gave more land than was necessary, and his expectations as to right of search and the working of the extradition treaty were not justified. Nothing is said of the origin of the slave-trade solution, which the reviewer has supposed to have been Tyler's rather than Webster's.

In 60 pages, R. G. Adams deals with the eight months of A. P. Upshur's incumbency. He has met his difficulty of dealing with perhaps our least known Secretary of State by producing a good short sketch of the man. On the episodes of the secretariate he has arrived at conclusions which seem to be justified by the evidence; a fact which causes surprise because of the number of careless and needless generalizations scattered through the text. The sketch needed a drastic editing, which it did not receive. Three statements of fact vary from those made in the preceding (pp. 60 and 105, 61 and 91, 62 and 80), and one from that in the next following (105 and 176); in all cases Mr. Adams is wrong. More important is his anti-Southern tendency which would be amusing if it did

not happen to be psychologically important. He does, indeed, repudiate the "made in New England history" of J. Q. Adams and W. E. Channing, but after all their views were political and not historical, and one suspects that Southerners would resent their hostility less than Mr. R. G. Adams's contempt. The editor should not indeed interfere with the author's pertinent views, but sweeping generalizations as to the character of "that South which controlled the Government of the United States almost uninterruptedly from the election of Thomas Jefferson to that of Abraham Lincoln, and consequently dominated its foreign policy most of the time" (p. 68), and "the attitude of a southern Democrat towards England in the forties", distinctly do not belong in such a series as this is intended to be.

Calhoun served exactly one year and is dealt with by St. G. L. Sioussat in 110 pages. The treatment is in general admirable. It is, of course, an affectation to say the Calhouns were Irish, when their characters were as Scottish as their ancestry. Mr. Sioussat gives a very well-judged, conservative statement of the famous episode of Texas and the Pakenham correspondence, an excellent and needed summary of Calhoun's other activities, and an admirable estimate of his policy as a whole in so far as it is possible to present it.

The remaining 102 pages of text are taken up by Mr. Sioussat's treatment of James Buchanan's four years of office. It is plain that this space is proportionally too small, and the effects of over-condensation are evident. No such totality emerges as in the case of Calhoun, and Buchanan's ability, which is affirmed, and which some deny, is not proven. The affairs of Oregon and the Mexican War are well handled on the basis of the immense amount of work which has been done on them by others as well as by the author, but the reader is not given enough material to enable him to arrive at independent judgments, or to gain a sense of that authority which the author undoubtedly possesses. The mere enumeration of the other topics of the administration is illuminating, but all are too briefly handled, with the possible exception of the problems of the slave trade. The transit treaty with New Granada is noticeably neglected.

Volume VI. fully maintains the high standard set by the earlier volumes of the series. It covers, moreover, a period less completely known than that of the first three, and so conveys fresher material. The general plan is continued under the same editorship.

The first study is that of J. M. Clayton, by Professor M. W. Williams, dealing with sixteen months in 72 pages. 'This is indeed a joy, exhibiting such mastery of the subject and such comprehension of the purpose as make it a model for work of the kind. The chief episode is the making of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, upon which Miss Williams had already written. Here, however, she makes distinct contributions in revealing the personality of Clayton, the fact of his carrying out an individual and comprehensive foreign policy, and the interference of Taylor therewith.

The second article is by Professor C. A. Duniway, who treats the

twenty-seven months of Daniel Webster's second term in 36 pages. Webster presents several serious problems in connection with such a series. He has been dealt with repeatedly and fairly exhaustively; he was a great man, but hardly a great diplomat; during this term his interest even in foreign questions was chiefly in their domestic repercussions. Professor Duniway has done well considering these handicaps.

In the third section Mr. Foster Stearns deals in 24 pages with Edward Everett's four months of office. The picture which Mr. Stearns gives of what was accomplished in so short a time by trained and interested intelligence is striking. Machinery, dragging under Webster, suddenly revived. Everett completed Clayton and Webster's work on the Perry expedition, he retrieved Webster's error in the Labos affair, he secured provision for the new and needed office of assistant secretary of state, and he wrote one famous diplomatic document, that defeating the prepared tripartite agreement with regard to Cuba.

In some respects the study of W. L. Marcy by H. B. Learned is the most important in the series so far. This covers a complete term of four years in 148 pages. It constitutes a very genuine and important contribution not only to the history of American diplomacy, but to that long-desired addition to American historiography, a life of Marcy. Mr. Learned has examined all available material, printed and manuscript, with meticulous care, and his work calls for a more detailed criticism than is here possible. Its character may be judged by the fact that his most striking novelty comes from his study of the manuscripts of sources already printed, leading to his discovery that a phrase omitted in the printed document makes Marcy actually, though probably not intentionally, responsible for the Ostend Manifesto. While the whole article is shot through with the freshness of his investigations, the study of the British enlistment controversy contains the greatest amount of new matter.

Lewis Einstein, United States minister to Czechoslovakia, deals with Lewis Cass's forty-five months of service in 86 pages. Here for the first time an author takes the bull directly by the horns, and frankly treats policy and its handling as the work, not of the Secretary of State, but of the President, James Buchanan. The treatment is well informed and particularly well written. The author is distinctly favorable to Buchanan, and has apprehended and made plain the fact that he was among the few Americans who have possessed a well-knit and coherent attitude toward the world. His detailed picture of how plans were thwarted and distorted by the indiscriminate opposition of Congress will bring a thrill of sympathy from those attempting to direct our foreign policy in the last thirty years. The reviewer believes that there is a useful distinction to be drawn between the terms "Manifest Destiny" and "Imperialism" (p. 302).

Professor R. F. Nichols covers Jeremiah Sullivan Black's seventy-nine days as secretary in 19 pages. It is hard to see how either Professor Nichols or Mr. Black could have done more than they did in that confused and dismal period. Professor Nichols takes the opportunity to give

a picture of some of the routine affairs of the department. Secretary Black began his famous and unfortunate connection with the Alta Vela claim, and set in motion machinery to prevent the recognition of Confederate agents abroad.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Christopher C. Andrews: Recollections, 1829-1922. Edited by his daughter, ALICE E. ANDREWS. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 327. \$6.00.)

GENERAL Andrews's life spanned more than four score and ten years; his experiences were many and varied, embracing a New England upbringing—including a term at Harvard Law School—some months of 1854 in Kansas, a couple of years in Washington—most of the time a clerk in the Treasury Department—law practice in the frontier town of St. Cloud, Minnesota, service in the Union Army carrying him to the rank of brevet major-general, an eight-year diplomatic mission to Sweden and Norway, consular service in Brazil, and finally many years of activity in Minnesota where his energies soon came to be almost entirely directed to the problems of scientific forestry and conservation.

In the opening paragraph of the reminiscences he states: "At the earnest request of my daughter, I sit down, at the age of seventy-eight [this must have been in 1907 or 1908 for he was born October 27, 1829], . . . to write my recollections of what has been interesting in my life. I do not expect this autobiography to be read by the public and therefore I write with more freedom." The context shows that the writing must have extended over a number of years, for there are references to happenings as late as 1918, but nowhere is there positive information on this point. General Andrews had the assistance of his diary to jog his memory; hence, we may presume, for all except the account of the very first years, the work possesses the reliability of a first-hand, contemporary narrative. This is, however, only a presumption. The editing leaves much to be desired in that it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to tell where the recollections end and the diary begins, and *vice versa*. Not only did the general himself run in excerpts from the diary, usually indicating which was which, but the editor took the liberty of doing the same thing without exercising so much care in differentiating. Furthermore there is nothing to indicate whether or not the story stands as originally written; if it has not been expurgated the general had no reason to believe that the "public" or any member thereof would be disturbed by anything now found in the printed book. His roaring is that of a sucking dove.

The recollections show the writer to have been a man of considerable ability, a keen observer, and possessed of rather unusual administrative talent. He was a man of considerable tolerance; a strong opponent to slavery, he could, at least in retrospect, recognize that there was something to be said on the other side, and even as a young fellow, so the diary bears witness, did not lose his head through fanatical zeal. His

service during the days when, in Arkansas and Louisiana, Reconstruction was treading on the heels of war, revealed his broadmindedness and his capacity to appreciate the attitude of mind of the defeated foe.

Like so many men of his time who had attained, at a relatively early age, high rank in the army, General Andrews returned to civilian life in Minnesota and found himself unable to take up his old career with any zest. He was out of step and younger men had overhauled him in his profession. Consequently an opportunity to represent his country abroad came as a welcome relief. Diplomatic and consular service, where his career was more than respectable, held his attention a number of years, but the spoils system, which put him into the service, dragged him out at the time when he had learned the ropes, and sent him back to Minnesota to find new interests in life. After floundering a bit he found what could occupy both time and attention in working, first as a public-spirited citizen and then in official capacity, for scientific preservation of the forests of his state, taking with him to the task a real knowledge stimulated first by what he had observed in the Scandinavian countries. One may venture to differ with Dr. Folwell's dictum in the introduction that General Andrews's "most conspicuous service to the country was that rendered in the war of the slaveholders' rebellion", and maintain that his forestry work should take at least equal rank; there were many officers, even general officers, during the civil war, but not too many Americans at the opening of the twentieth century who could both see the need for constructive conservation and labor intelligently for it.

General Andrews's recollections make no startling revelations; history will not be reinterpreted because they have been written. They give us an interesting series of comments, sometimes illuminating, on persons and things encountered in the course of an unusually long life, and as such they are distinctly worth while.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

The War Department, 1861: a Study in Mobilization and Administration. By A. HOWARD MENEELY. (New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 400. \$6.00.)

In this well-documented volume Dr. Meneely presents the most thorough study yet produced of the administrative history of the United States Army in the first year of the Civil War. Not content with the vast store of published source-material on his subject, he has ransacked the archives of the War Department and its bureaus, as well as a score of collections of manuscripts of soldiers and politicians. Despite the amount of old straw that had to be threshed, the author has gleaned a good deal of fresh material and has given us a sober and scholarly analysis of the chaos out of which were born the Northern armies of 1861 and 1862.

Dr. Meneely justifies his view that the administration of the War Department in 1861 and the work of putting an army into the field

"constitute a distinct chapter in the history of the period. They represent the struggles and experiences of a democratic government, totally unprepared for war, and hampered by incompetent management and legal provisions requiring decentralized military control, in attempting to meet the gigantic problems of war on a grand scale. . . . By the time Secretary Cameron departed from the War Office in January, 1862, the federal government had finally succeeded, clumsily and at an excessive cost, in placing more than half a million men in the field and had built up an establishment to sustain them. It had gathered into its own hands most of the control over the army and was about ready to carry on war on an efficient and effective basis".

That this much was accomplished "was not due to the efforts of Cameron: it was largely in spite of him". The painstaking analysis of the failure of the Pennsylvania boss, so successful in his own business affairs, to do more than bungle the business of his department, is an outstanding feature of the book. Making all due allowances for the difficulties which confronted the secretary, Dr. Meneely concludes that "it is impossible to credit Cameron with a modicum of success". "If he himself profited only through the diversion of certain traffic over the Northern Central Railroad, others, through his assistance, reaped large fortunes. Pressing public business waited while friends, time-servers and political creditors received their due." His departure from office was rightly hailed as equivalent to a great Union victory.

As to whether the author's treatment of McClellan is equally satisfactory, opinions will differ. Skilful quotations of egotistic and contemptuous passages from the McClellan manuscripts prepare the reader to accept the author's charges of "over-cautiousness" and "fatal hesitation". Consideration might well have been given, however, to the point of view expressed in Captain Frothingham's articles on the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns; that the time spent in organizing the army could not have been so well utilized in any other way, and that McClellan's delays proved disadvantageous to the South. The emphasis which is rightly laid on the grave mistake of keeping the small regular army practically intact might have been heightened by pointing out the great initial advantage gained by the South in leavening the state commands with regular officers.

Dr. Meneely's book lacks the breezy and colorful style which makes it hard for the reader to lay aside Professor Shannon's *Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*, until he has turned the last page. On the other hand, for the period which he covers, Dr. Meneely has probed deeper into the sources and used them more critically.

Although good use has been made of some of the Welles Papers, the treatment of the relations between the War and Navy departments is inadequate. As to the degree of ineffectiveness of the blockade during the first winter of the war, Dr. Meneely's verdict is more severe than that of the British officers who were sent to observe it. No one familiar with

the Navy Department correspondence will be likely to agree that "the administration failed to see and appreciate adequately" the need of cutting the South off from its European supplies in the first twelve or fifteen months of fighting. In the detailed account of the activities of Morse and Sanford on "the European front", no use seems to have been made of their despatches in the State Department, although the Sanford Manuscripts in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society have been utilized. The judgment on Minister Sanford's manifold activities seems to this reviewer too favorable.

The book is equipped with a bibliography and an index, and marred by few errors of fact or typography. "Gonditate" (p. 80), "Thouvenal" (p. 283), and "harrangued" (p. 345) might be noted.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3RD.

Personal Recollections of the Civil War. By JOHN GIBBON, Brigadier-General, U. S. A. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 426. \$5.00.)

In the spring of 1861 Captain John Gibbon, a North Carolinian, was in command of a battery of regular artillery at Camp Floyd, Utah Territory. He reported with his battery at Washington late in October, was made chief of artillery in McDowell's division, and set about molding raw volunteers into soldiers. In the spring of 1862 he was promoted to the command of a brigade of infantry, famous later as the "Iron Brigade", and distinguished himself at Second Manassas and Antietam. In November he was given command of a division. He was wounded at Fredericksburg, but rejoined the army in March, 1863. He was not in the fighting around Chancellorsville, but at Gettysburg his division was in the centre of the line and helped receive and repel Pickett's desperate charge. Here he was again wounded. After convalescence he was put in charge of the draft, first at Cleveland and then at Philadelphia where he spent the winter. He rejoined the Army of the Potomac early in April, 1864, and was in the thick of the fighting from the Wilderness to south of Petersburg. In June he was promoted to be major-general of volunteers; and in January, 1865, he was given command of the newly organized Twenty-fourth Corps. He was active in the pursuit of Lee's retreating army in April and was chairman of the joint commission which arranged the details of the surrender. His corps was mustered out in June; but Gibbon remained in command of the region about Petersburg during the military occupation. Here he had to deal with the desolation and poverty of the country and the restlessness of the ex-slaves. When the regular army was reorganized and officers' ranks readjusted he became colonel of the 36th Infantry and was sent west to Fort Kearney.

His *Recollections* were prepared in 1885 and were based in part upon his letters and diary of the war period. They are written in a straightforward, frank, soldierly fashion and tell only what the writer himself saw. He had a very high opinion of the early volunteers and gave an

interesting account of how they were made into soldiers. His chief difficulty was with the untrained officers. Incidentally, he revealed much of his own development as an officer, for, like most of the men who rose to high rank, he had to get his higher military education in the school of the war itself. He comments rather freely upon the various commanders of the Army of the Potomac, and his opinions were generally those which prevail today. He had a high opinion of McClellan and criticized severely the interference with him from Washington. He asserted that McClellan enjoyed the confidence and excited the enthusiasm of the men to a higher degree than any commander that army ever had, and that his removal in November, 1862, was a costly blunder. Pope was a confused blunderer without proper sense of his own responsibility. Burnside trusted to luck and was incompetent. Hooker had a certain ability, but, though apparently frank and engaging, was fundamentally a political intriguer who sought scapegoats for his own failures. Meade was competent, of high character, but of too excitable a temper. Gibbon is strangely reticent about Grant—perhaps he thought comment unnecessary. His explanation of the failures of the army around Richmond and Petersburg in 1864 is that the veterans were fought out, many of the best ones killed or disabled, and the replacements of drafted men and bounty-jumpers were of lower fighting quality. The morale of the army was very low.

Although he had no sympathy with secession, Gibbon never expressed any animosity against the Southerners. (He had three brothers in the Confederate Army.) On the contrary he had nothing but praise for Lee and Jackson, and said that the latter was almost as popular among the Northern soldiers as among his own! But he thought that J. E. B. Stuart, of whom also he had a high opinion, blundered in losing touch with Lee in the march toward Gettysburg. His account of the surrender of Lee adds a few more picturesque details to the records of that occasion. The latter part of the book contains much about his differences with his corps commander and former friend, W. S. Hancock, particularly as to whether Hancock had given him an order to advance across the Brock Road at the Wilderness. It seemed very important to General Gibbon, but it is the one tiresome thing in the book.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906. By ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Professor of History in Clark University. (New York: Dutton and Company. 1928. Pp. x, 537. \$5.00.)

THE fact that the author has had access to the unpublished documents in the State Department, and to the Olney, Roosevelt, and Hay papers, makes this a valuable critical commentary on the principal diplomatic relations of the United States in a particularly adventuresome period of our history. Thorough treatment is given to the following outstanding international incidents: the Venezuela boundary dispute, the Spanish-

American War, the Alaskan boundary, the problems of the Far East inclusive of Hawaii, the Panama Canal treaties, Cuba and the Caribbean, the European Powers and Venezuela together with African questions, Americans in Turkey, the Hague and the Algeciras conferences. While each chapter is complete in itself, the author has succeeded in so handling the chapters as to bring out the interdependence and close relations of the foreign programmes and to preserve a unity in the review of the period. Into each chapter he has worked the contributions from his studies of the unpublished documents and, best of all, he has placed in the appendixes many valuable documents otherwise inaccessible to the students.

In handling the various topics due recognition is given at all times to the importance of a clear understanding of European history of the period. The thorough grasp which the author has of European diplomacy serves him well. Naturally all the chapters are not of equal merit. A completeness is given to the story of the Venezuela boundary dispute but no astonishing disclosures are made. No new matter is found in this meagre treatment of the Spanish-American War and the author fails to prove his assertion that "the practical independence of Cuba could have been secured without recourse to war". In a brief chapter on Anglo-American Relations it is shown that the solidarity of our interest with that of England was uppermost in the mind of Hay, both as ambassador and as Secretary of State. It is proven, however, that there is not a single scrap of evidence sustaining the claim that the United States ever made a secret treaty of alliance or understanding with England. On the other hand on page 126 is given a note of John Hay to an unnamed ambassador rejecting overtures hostile to British interests. In the account of the Alaskan boundary the general course of the negotiations is not only traced but there are many references to unpublished documents, extracts from which are given in the appendix. Here, as elsewhere in the book, the reader is given many intimate glimpses of Hay, and others, of great value to a better understanding of the personalities behind the diplomacy.

Most valuable are the contributions to a better understanding of the Panama Canal treaties, the affairs of the Far East, and the Algeciras Conference. In the chapter on the Panama Canal the new material in reference to the Panama revolt will enable the reader to draw the correct conclusions regarding the part played by the government of the United States therein. In the chapter on the Open Door in China it is not only established that the policy was British in origin but a clear presentation is given of the influences which affected John Hay. The important personal influences of Lord Beresford's book on *The Break-up of China* and the opinions of Rockhill are shown. Rockhill's hitherto unpublished memorandum is given in the appendix. Hay's reassertion of the Open Door doctrine is correctly stated to be a departure from the traditional American foreign policy in its utilization of coöperation in place of independent action. A proper recognition is given to Adeë in the rescue

of the legations and the saving of China during the Boxer Movement. Adele, it is recalled, was in active charge of the State Department during this period of Hay's illness. A full account of the complications involving the several European nations during the Boxer Movement is given and this enables us more clearly to appreciate the successful manner in which the United States handled the situation and kept alive the Open Door doctrine during those anxious years. The especially valuable chapter on the European Powers and the Far East, 1901-1904, gives the ground plan of European affairs and shows that American diplomacy in the Far East was inseparably connected with its diplomacy in Europe. A proper disclosure of the inter-relationships of diplomatic questions is given, together with emphasis on the importance of the great personalities in the game. Here again in the appendixes are rich selections from the Hay Papers. The study of the Treaty of Portsmouth is made to supplement the material in Dennett's *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, giving a version of what happened not only at Portsmouth, but at Bjorko between the Tsar and the Kaiser, and in Japan, and calling attention to the German proposals as to Morocco affairs. Some surprise may be expressed by readers at the disclosures of close approaches towards understanding between Roosevelt and the Kaiser. Certainly very extensive is seen to have been the influence of President Roosevelt during the years 1905 and 1906. From the account of the Algeiras Conference we are able to watch the active manner in which President Roosevelt interfered to restrain the Kaiser and postpone the outbreak of war.

The book is a sound piece of historical writing, of interest to both the specialist and the general reader. Remarkably successful is the author in compact marshalling of the facts of an unusually complicated period of history.

R. B. WAY.

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Arranged as a narrative by CHARLES SEYMOUR, Provost and Sterling Professor of History in Yale University. Volume III., *Into the World War*; volume IV., *The Ending of the War*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xx, 453; xiv, 552. \$10.00; the four volumes, \$20.00.)

THESE concluding volumes of the papers of Colonel House contain less of novelty than did those in which, two years ago, Professor Seymour covered the relationship between House and Wilson in the years 1911 to 1917. The earlier volumes opened up a relatively unknown field, traced in detail the private negotiations of our period of neutrality, and revealed in the quiet person of Colonel House a new type in American diplomacy and politics. They revealed as well the completeness with which Wilson entrusted to House certain angles of his business, and the firmness with which he declined to let delegation of authority carry with it abdication of himself. But the matters within House's activity were substantially his

own, and complete in themselves, so that the volumes told a new story and nearly all of it.

After the entry of the United States into the World War the events in which House had a part are better known, and no one new narrative can entirely change their outlines. Moreover, House's own part was gradually shifted from that of a detached portion of the President acting on his own judgment, to that of a conduit through which the ideas of his chief were seeking realization, and at last to that of a diplomatic secretary acting in the presence of his principal. To an amazing extent the minds of the two ran along parallel courses, and the one could without discussion understand the other. But Wilson never surrendered his mind, and when he came himself completely into action upon the terms of peace, he filled the stage. Because of these conditions the reader of the four volumes will experience a let-down in the last two; but no careful student of the World War will omit from his scrutiny any word of either.

The matter in these last volumes is generally grouped about one or another of the three large aspects of the American effort: the coördination of the American contribution with that of the Allied powers, the formulation of a set of American war aims that should have a disintegrating effect upon the enemy while the war lasted and an overpowering reasonableness upon the associates when the war should cease, and the persistent pressure to make a permanent peace at the conference in Paris. In each of these aspects House had a vital part.

As the war opened, House occupied a unique position among statesmen in that he alone had during the past three years been *persona grata* and actually present in the capitals of the opposing belligerents. His contacts, and the confidence that he inspired, were among the more valuable of the American assets with which to carry on the war. He was at once drawn into the problem of coördination when the Balfour and Viviani missions arrived in April, 1917, prepared to expect that the whole American effort should be devoted to equipping the Allies with food and munitions, paying their debts, and feeding American soldiers into their armies as replacement troops. These volumes contain abundant materials, and many new details, upon the Purchasing Commission, the Inter-Ally Conference, the creation of the Supreme War Council, and the selection of Foch as *generalissimo*. They establish what we have suspected, that in using its financial contributions to enforce the argument for real teamwork, the United States made one of its heaviest contributions to the winning of the war.

Both Wilson and House recognized, from the moment of the declaration of war, that the aims which had drawn America in were unacceptable to the Powers already there. There is good reason to believe that Wilson knew most of what there was to know about the secret treaties within a month of entry into the war (III. 40-63). But there was a real dilemma. To fight for Allied aims, many of them imperialist in character, would bring no real satisfaction in the United States; yet

to stop the war at the outset in order to force the Allies to say what they would do with victory if they won it, would be visionary and frivolous. There was only one course—to carry on the fight and to manoeuvre the Allies into such a position that they would have to accept the American aims at the council table. Hence the significance, now much of it revealed for the first time, of the Flag Day speech, the reply to the pope, the utterance on the Fourteen Points, the “force without stint” speech, and the Fourth Liberty Loan speech of September, 1918. Here too is the meaning of Wilson’s growing determination to sit himself at the head of the peace table and control the outcome.

In the task of coördination House operated in touch with the President, and for him, while Wilson devoted most of his time and strength to other matters of the war. In the discussions of doctrine, they were still in confidence and touch, with Wilson making the utterances and House preparing the way or interpreting them, through Sir William Wiseman, to the Allies. In both of these phases House played a leading part in construction as well as in elaboration and staff-work.

But in the third phase, the making of the peace, the whole mind and strength of President Wilson were occupied, progressively, until he was trying to carry it all. Quite as progressively, House now became an aide. There is much material here upon the drafting of the Covenant, but Miller and Baker have been heard on this, and Baker is again to be heard; and neither House nor his editor makes any pretense of being able to relate the whole.

In the concluding chapters of the work there are many traces of the controversy that has been begun over the rôle of House in Paris. The outcome will be secondary so far as the peace with Germany is concerned, but in the affairs of Colonel House it is primary, and pardonably primary. When the negotiations were over he was no longer the chief instrument of President Wilson in diplomacy. He never saw the President after the latter left him in Paris upon the signing of the treaty; and the occasion of the separation, he declares, “was and is to me a tragic mystery” (IV. 518). They did indeed carry on a desultory correspondence through the summer, for House crossed to England to continue his mission; but affection visibly waned and turned to void. Until and unless the Wilson papers yield an answer, or a charge, the matter must remain among the things unknown. There is no evidence for it here, and no unkind word has been found in all the correspondence that Professor Seymour has examined (II. 513). Yet one may perhaps guess. Even if the treaty negotiation had been a success, it might have been hard to share the glory on terms consistent with friendship and devotion. But with the treaty headed for rejection, it is not strange that one of them might have come to think that had his advice been taken the result were otherwise; or that the other might have remembered the moments when he felt impelled to depart from advice that was ever asked and often given. The President was entirely human. He must have recalled the embarrass-

ment when House broke to him the news that the premiers, and even House, were disposed to believe his European trip an error. He had taken it for granted that he would preside at Paris (IV. 209); and House had had to point out his mistake (IV. 202). He had rejected House's advice to take Root and Taft to Paris (IV. 221). He found on his own arrival there that House was desired, trusted, and seemingly indispensable to the premiers. He had failed to see the point of House's urging that the procedure of the conference be arranged early and with care (II. 274). And although he himself had come to compromise before the work was done, some of his counsellors feared that House was too ready to yield a point (IV. 274). House's very last urging was that the Senate be greeted in a conciliatory spirit (IV. 487); and the Senate could not be controlled. Wilson came home to turbulent politics and physical weakness, to some advisers who had never fully reconciled themselves to House, and to others who had never had him (Wilson) fully to themselves. The friendship lapsed, and it is not surprising. But for eight years there had been a relationship unmatched in American politics, and as creditable to the one as to the other. And when it was cold, neither of them laid aside his dignity to recriminate; and it is indecent that the friends of either should. Except for the papers of Wilson himself, there can not be any single archive that has so much to tell about the American participation in the World War as these that have been entrusted to the skilful hand of Professor Seymour.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814. By JAMES B. WILBUR. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xv, 544; vii, 570. \$12.50.)

MR. JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR has long since made himself known to American historians by his hospitality to them at his Manchester home, and will be remembered by successive generations of them for his recent gift to the Library of Congress of \$100,000 to aid research in American history. For many years he has been building up a remarkable collection of material pertaining to the Allens and early Vermont history, which is ultimately to be housed in the beautiful chapel that he has built in memory of Ira Allen at the University of Vermont. With this collection as a basis Mr. Wilbur has written—virtually compiled—the life of Ira Allen, the lesser known (indeed, practically forgotten) younger brother of Ethan Allen, the famous Green Mountain boy. Ethan's spectacular exploits have been kept alive by the story books and school histories. Ira's quiet statesmanship has been overlooked by everybody except those who have delved into Vermont history, or have known of Mr. Wilbur's keen enthusiasm for him. This book is the result of that enthusiasm.

From the point of view of the historian of the Revolution and early years of the Republic this book, even with its imperfections, is important, for in it Mr. Wilbur has reprinted many documents hitherto buried in

collections, such as the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society, the *Collections* of the Vermont Historical Society (2 vols. 1870-1871), the *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, 1775-1836* (8 vols. 1873-1880), William Slade's *Vermont State Papers* (1823), etc. In addition to these, Mr. Wilbur has printed many unpublished documents from American, Canadian, English, and French archives, photostatic copies of which he has deposited at the University of Vermont and in the Library of Congress. A large majority of these pertain to the well-known Haldiman affair and to the affair of the "Olive Branch".

From the point of view of history and biography, the book is difficult reading, for the lengthy quotations tend to break the narrative which at times is entirely sacrificed to them. In fact, many of these quotations should have been relegated to foot-notes, which are very sparingly used except for bibliographical purposes. As a biography, the book belongs to the "official" type which reached its highest development in the reign of Victoria. The following quotations are typical: "[This document] is in the handwriting of Jonas Fay, who wrote a very legible hand, but Ira Allen's master mind is evidenced in every clause" (I. 295); "Allen must have now realized that he had made a master stroke when he formed the two unions. He had Congress, New Hampshire, and New York begging Vermont to give up all claims on the new territory, which he had no idea of doing, as will be seen" (I. 299); "Yet the Legislature of the State that Ira Allen had created would not advance some thirty or forty thousand dollars" (II. 219).

Without a doubt Ira Allen deserves more recognition than he has had hitherto. A young man in his twenties when the Revolution broke and affairs in the New Hampshire Grants, as Vermont was then called, reached a crisis, he immediately became prominent in the territory, where his brother's name had been known for several years. In this activity he was with men years his senior, such as Thomas Chittenden and Jonas Fay. Frequently his youthful enthusiasm for the welfare of the embryo state carried him through when an older man's deliberation would have failed. Ira Allen was clever, his instincts keen, and his ingenuity thoroughly Yankee. Naturally he wanted Vermont's independence, for then his vast holdings in the Grants would be confirmed to him, whereas the recognition of New York's claim to the jurisdiction of the territory would greatly reduce his wealth. So his fight for Vermont was not altogether altruistic and patriotic. The accusation of treason made against him at the time of the Haldiman affair in 1780-1781 is not altogether justifiable, as Mr. Wilbur has shown, for the controversy over the Grants began before the Revolution, and the Continental Congress did nothing to settle the matter. Had Congress recognized Vermont's independence the Allens would never have opened negotiations with General Haldiman, whatever the motive for those negotiations may have been. In the opinion of the British agents actually dealing with Ira Allen, as Mr.

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Wilbur's documents so amply prove, he was using the affair to bring Congress to acknowledge the statehood of Vermont.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Wilbur has not been more careful in always noting the number or serial of a quoted document in the collection containing it, for future historians will have to search through a mass of documents to find some of those he has used.

GILBERT H. DOANE.

Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, Colony, Province, and State. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University. In five volumes. Volume I., *Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1605-1689*; volume II., *Province of Massachusetts, 1689-1775*. (New York: States History Company. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 608; xiv, 592. \$9.50 each.)

ONE might easily catalogue the numerous regional histories published by concerns as commercial projects. Most of them are compilations, some well and others poorly done. Their value depends largely on editorial supervision and the training and knowledge of the compilers. Where writers are employed directly by publishers with an ornamental editor who supplies little more than a big name and a large photograph of himself for the enterprise, the results are likely to be disappointing. Where able historians are persuaded to organize materials, supervise the collection of data, and carefully edit the work, a valuable local history is produced.

The *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, in five volumes, two of which have appeared, is an enterprise of merit. The editor's work seems to be the important task of organizing the advisory board of forty-two persons representing fifteen colleges and universities, twenty-four libraries, historical associations, and patriotic societies, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Massachusetts State Chamber of Commerce. Among the names are well-known historians, antiquarians, librarians, college presidents, and leaders of patriotic organizations. The plan followed contemplates a history that is (1) coöperative, (2) diversified, (3) truthful, (4) educative, and (5) popular.

The staff of writers, for the most part, has not been selected from the advisory board, but consists of men and women qualified to present in an authoritative manner particular phases of the history of Massachusetts. The forty chapters in volumes I. and II. are written by thirty-six different persons. Although this coöperative method destroys the unity of the work, compensation is found in the diversity. Geography, social and economic institutions, education and religion, trade and shipping, external relations, finance, women, and business receive rather unusual treatment along with the political evolution and biography of eminent leaders. The maps and numerous illustrations are well chosen, and the select biographies following each chapter are discriminating. It is to be

hoped that a first-class index will be included in the final volume. In many ways these first two volumes hold out the promise of a model state history which other commonwealths might well follow.

This history has been prepared under the conviction that the histories by Hutchinson, Palfrey, Barry, and Winsor not only do not cover the history of Massachusetts during the century and a half since the American Revolution, but also are not sufficiently accurate or readable "to be of service to the present generation". Further, the appearance of fresh material and the rise of new points of view call for a rewriting of the history of the Old Bay State.

The survey of pre-colonial England in chapter I. by Wilbur C. Abbott is followed by two chapters on geographical backgrounds and origins before the coming of the Pilgrims and Puritans is described. One chapter is devoted to the Indian. John Winthrop and Cotton Mather are each favored with a chapter. A similar amount of space is devoted to social life, women, Harvard College, religious freedom, literature, economic conditions, trade and shipping relations with England, external relations, colonial wars, the witchcraft episode, the royal governors, the expansion of the town system, the colonial bench and bar, finance, Boston, and the factors in the dispute up to April 19, 1775. The editor, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, has his name attached to chapter VII. of volume I. on the commonwealth builder, John Winthrop.

In general one may criticize the natural tendency to laud the activities of Massachusetts at the expense of other colonies. Other errors, mostly growing out of this excessive loyalty to the Old Bay State, are found. For instance (II. 510) the statement is made: "At New York and Philadelphia the tea ships were not allowed to land, but there was no attempt to destroy the property of the company." On the contrary it is a well-known fact that "New York's Tea Party" occurred on April 22, 1774, when "Mohawks" dumped eighteen cases of tea into the harbor.

A. C. FLICK.

MINOR NOTICES

Bibliography, Practical, Enumerative, Historical: an Introductory Manual. By Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Assistant Librarian of Princeton University, with the collaboration of Frank Keller Walter, Librarian of the University of Minnesota. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928, pp. xvi, 519, \$7.50.) This book contains the subject matter of a course which Professor Van Hoesen has given for several years at Princeton to graduate students, together with material used by Mr. Walter at Minnesota. Any one who has worked with students and even with professors knows the need of instruction in bibliography, and the present work is the first to supply the need comprehensively in this country.

The plan of the book is first to prepare the student for the mechanical processes of research, including making a bibliography and note-taking,

leading up to putting a book through the press (chapter II.). The subject bibliography is taken up, historical and social sciences first, and on through the whole field (chapters III.-VI.). So much for the graduate student. Especially for the library student are the chapters following (VII.-XI.). Then comes the history of writing, of printing, of book-decoration, of libraries (XII.-XV.).

Truly an amazing amount of fact and general information in these 424 pages. The authors have made excellent general statements, illustrated by specific examples, and then have made running comment on leading bibliographies. For a technical work, it is readable. For a bibliographer it may not be complete in every special field, but it is a good general introduction which penetrates far into every subject. The authors show familiarity with the material, and one feels confidence in their use of material. In this respect it is likely to become an indispensable tool for librarians and bibliographically minded specialists.

In addition to the text there is a bibliographical appendix of 75 pages, again a most remarkable collection of titles referred to in the text. There are 1643 numbers in the appendix, but there are many subnumbers, so that there are at least seventeen hundred entries. These are "short title", but sufficient to identify, and form a handy and accurate list of titles with correct dates for the best and most wanted bibliographies.

The preparation and proof-reading have been so careful that the reviewer has found only one error in quoting a title. As to omissions the authors have so frankly stated that they have made selections rather than a complete list that suggestions would be based on opinion. The chief adverse criticism, if it be such, is that there is too much in the book. It is really one pamphlet and two distinct books. The pamphlet is the chapter on Practical Bibliography. Compared with the scholarship of following chapters it seems puerile. But since bibliography is capable of so many meanings perhaps the authors felt they must include this. Enumerative Bibliography is the first book included in the pages. It is a subject by itself and the most distinctive contribution in this work. Historical Bibliography is the other book, and gives the most up-to-date summary of the subject. The authors have done well in doing it all so accurately and thoroughly. Those indebted now will be doubly so when ten years hence a new edition appears in two separate volumes.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway: the Place-Names of a Country Discussed in their Bearings on Social and Religious History. By Magnus Olsen. [Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.] (Oslo, H. Aschehoug and Company; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. xv, 349, 8 s. 6 d., \$2.80.) Ten lectures on Norwegian place-names delivered in Oslo in September, 1926, by Professor Magnus Olsen, an eminent authority on Northern and Old Northern languages, before the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, make up the con-

tents of this volume. Inasmuch as Norway, so far as we know, has always been occupied by the same North Germanic people, the linguistic problems involved in the study of local nomenclature in that country are not so varied or difficult as they are in England, for example, where one has to deal with the contributions of successive races. But if the research is less baffling, it is certainly not less extensive; for the author estimates that Norway has at least five million place-names of respectable age. Most of these have, of course, little interest for the student; but there is a considerable remainder, the study of which has led to a series of significant conclusions.

Professor Olsen deals almost exclusively with farm names. His interest lies in the question whether these can be made to contribute in any way to our understanding of social or religious history. He concludes that many of these names, especially such as are simple in structure, have a history that goes far back into antiquity, perhaps in cases to the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Olsen sees an early settlement of large farms, each occupied by a single family of the patriarchal type. In the course of time it became necessary to divide these estates, or to form new farms with outlying fields as the nuclei; frequently it also happened that younger members of the family, or even freedmen, were sent forth to clear and develop holdings at some distance from the parent home. These new farms usually received names of a compound character, with such endings as *heimr* (home), *land*, *setr* (place of settlement), *ruð* (clearing), and the like, as the more significant part of the compound. Thus it seems that these later names can give information as to how successive groups of farms originated and how the settlement spread from the lower valleys to the higher ground.

Professor Olsen devotes a lecture to such farm-names as indicate the location of heathen sanctuaries, names ending in *hof* or *høgr*. The work closes with a discussion of a few names which seem to cast light into certain obscure corners of Northern mythology.

L. M. L.

Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion. By W. Barthold. Second edition, translated and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. [E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, new series, V.] (London, Luzac and Company, 1928, pp. xx, 514, 25 s.) The work of W. Barthold first appeared in Russian in 1900 and thus remained known only to a few specialists. We are grateful for the English translation which has been thoroughly revised and amplified by the author himself who endeavored to bring his work up to date. It is a most erudite and painstaking piece of work which aims at presenting a digest of all Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources relative to the historical geography and political history of Russian Turkestan from the end of the seventh century down to the death of Chingiz-Khan in 1227. Chinese sources, as far as accessible in translations, have also been utilized. The introduction

contains a discussion of the sources bearing on the Pre-Mongol period, the Mongol invasion, and European works of reference. The book is divided into four chapters: geographical survey of Transoxania, which is very detailed, Central Asia down to the twelfth century, the Qara-Khitays and the Shahs of Khwārazm, and Chingiz-Khan and the Mongols; the last-named, especially the characteristic of Chingiz, being the best portion of the book. It is concluded by a chronological summary of events, bibliography, and index which might be more complete, and is accompanied by a good map.

It is not surprising that in a work of this compass, despite all care, many slips occur. Thus the word *bakhshi* used throughout Central Asia is not derived from the Sanskrit *bhikshu*, as asserted on pages 51 and 388. This etymology was disproved by me in *T'oung Pao*, 1914 (p. 411), and 1918 (pp. 485-487), I have given the correct derivation from Chinese *po-shi* (ancient form *bak-shi*).

The name of the Chinese pilgrim is not Hiuen Tsiang, as it is spelled on page 70, but Hsüan Tsang. The Kin can not be called a Manchu dynasty (p. 381); Kin is the Chinese dynastic name for the Jurchi, a Tungusian tribe akin in language to the Manchu, but not identical with them. Can it truly be said that nomadic life and intellectual culture are two incompatible things (p. 461)? Despite its eminently geographical and historical character the Oriental sources translated in the work contain numerous data of culture-historical interest and references to commerce and products, but most of these are unfortunately not registered in the index.

B. LAUFER.

The Achievement of the Middle Ages. By W. E. Brown. (London, Sands and Company, 1928, pp. 240, 5 s.) By the Middle Ages the author refers to the period 1100 to 1500 A.D., and the achievement he notes is threefold. "The men of these generations achieved and maintained . . . a reign of law in the relations between man and man. Secondly, they developed their towns, i.e., their industries and their commerce, in a way which is unique in history and which was intimately related to the contemporary improvement in ordered liberty. Thirdly, these generations achieved a high culture, which did not decay but was developing into a yet more splendid form at the end of the period", to be checked by the wars of religion. A discussion of this threefold development is prefaced by an essay on "their tradition", i.e., the background of the development from 1100 onward.

The author's point of view is shown by these statements. "The third quarter of the eleventh century saw the resurgence of the Catholic Church as the great European law giver", and "it remains to be shown how the Church, as a free juridical society, informed the institutions of the Middle Ages with the governance of law". There are no foot-notes and no references; "there is no pretence at a complete history, but only

an effort to make a few general observations". The author has read diligently, and in places has dug deep into the sources, but his conclusions sometimes seem to be biased. Some of his statements we should question. "It was the Catholic Church which Constantine recognised by the Edict of Milan" (p. 14); "these achievements [12th-13th century] indicate undoubtedly a widespread and sound aesthetic taste, a devotion to religion, and a joy in life which the world has never known since" (p. 130); "these master-craftsmen, comprising the great bulk of the citizens" (p. 139); "most of the guilds originated in an association for pious purposes" (p. 143); "the new orders of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans and Franciscans, devoted themselves especially to teaching in the universities" (p. 193); "in most manor rolls there occurs record of the tax which the villein had to pay when his son attended the university" (p. 194); "the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries making themselves, at the cost of much unpopularity, masters of the wealth of the Church, wisely directed much of it to the purposes of study" (p. 194); "while admitting the legal value of the Civil Law, they jealously denied to it any necessary incorporation in the law of the Church, and because of this refusal a separate science of Roman law was revived at this time" (p. 202). These and other passages which might be added indicate the shortcomings, but should not deter a student from reading the book. A discussion of the relations between Medieval art and learning and that of the Renaissance period is especially interesting.

Kaiser Otto III., Ideal und Praxis im Fruehen Mittelalter. Door Menno ter Braak. (Amsterdam, J. Clausen, 1928, pp. 247.) This is a dissertation written in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the doctorate of letters at the University of Amsterdam. The author is a Hollander but for obvious reasons has preferred to write his work in the German language. Some of his historical studies were pursued at the University of Berlin. The book is not so much history—at least in the usual acceptance of that term—as it is an endeavor to determine the *Weltanschauung* of Europe about the year 1000, using Emperor Otto III. as a type—to discover "den Zusammenhang zwischen Individuum und Zeit". The suggestion for this dissertation quite evidently was derived from Lamprecht, who dubbed Otto III. "the Euphorion of the tenth century". The writer has faithfully read all the sources, and, one surmises, all the secondary literature as well. The ruling ideas and concepts of the time, such as "state" and "church", "asceticism", etc., are analyzed and discussed in these pages, and in so far the book constitutes a synthesis of the moral culture of Europe, which is suggestive and especially valuable for the references to other literature upon these subjects. But it seems to me that there is a fundamental error in the author's point of view, in spite of the authority of Lamprecht. For he assumes that Otto III. was a *type* of his age, whereas that curious boy was rather a freak, or at least he seems so to me.

J. W. T.

L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151: Foulque de Jérusalem et Geoffroi Plantagenet. Par Josèphe Chartrou. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928, pp. xv, 444, 50 fr.) This study of the reigns of Fulk of Jerusalem and Geoffrey Plantagenet fills the gap between Halphen's admirable work on Anjou in the eleventh century and the various accounts of the Angevin empire of Henry II. and his sons. The period, too, is one of transition, in which the history of Anjou ceases to have a purely local interest as one of its counts becomes King of Jerusalem and his son becomes the father of the future King of England and master of the Anglo-Norman empire. If M. Chartrou lacks the sure and penetrating criticism of Halphen, he takes his subject more broadly, so as to include the institutions and culture of the county. Five chapters are devoted to biographical and narrative detail, a sixth to Angevin and Norman institutions, and a seventh to the Church. There is an appendix on Fulk's career as King of Jerusalem. Nearly half the volume is taken up with a catalogue of acts, unpublished documents, and an elaborate index.

The work is carefully and systematically done, yet without any particularly novel conclusions. The account of the development of administrative institutions is interesting, and there is a full discussion of the scanty evidence for the workings of the sworn inquest in Anjou, but the author does not maintain that the Angevin procedure exerted any influence on Normandy. The study of the jury in Normandy, while emphasizing the importance of Geoffrey's reign, adds nothing to previous discussion. Something more might perhaps have been made of the relations of the Plantagenets to William of Conches, if indeed William be the author of the *De Honesto et Utili*. M. Chartrou makes good use of the *Historia Pontificalis*, but apparently does not realize that its author is John of Salisbury; he is doubtless excusable for failing to use R. L. Poole's recent edition (1927), and for omitting to mention Poole's discussion of the date of Henry's assumption of the ducal title (*English Historical Review*, XLII. 569). He fails to note Miss Abrahams's recent edition of the poems of Baudri de Bourgueil. Professor H. W. C. Davis, whose untimely death is mourned by all students of Anglo-Norman history, is strangely made the editor of a fictitious "Calendar of Charter Rolls, Oxford, 1913", instead of his well-known *Regesta*. Important modern works which are absent from the bibliography are Rössler's *Kaiserin Mathilde*, Heinrich Böhmer's *Kirche und Staat*, and David's *Robert Curthose*.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Le Speculum Perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise. Tome I., texte Latin. Préparé par Paul Sabatier. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. XIII.] (Manchester, the University Press, 1928, pp. xxxii, 350, 21 s.¹) Thirty years ago M. Sabatier published the first edition of the *Speculum*

¹ Price now advanced.

(reviewed VI. 544) which he had discovered. Now appears a definitive edition of the text, "résultant de la comparaison des onze meilleurs manuscrits connus jusqu'ici, avec l'indication de toutes les variantes fournies par eux, et d'un grand nombre d'autres, provenant des documents secondaires". It is interesting to note that forty manuscripts are now known. A second volume is planned to contain the general introduction, description of manuscripts, illustrative documents, and an index; but it is not known as yet how much of the introduction M. Sabatier had completed before his death, last March. For the present volume, in addition to the text and notes, he supplied a preliminary note explaining why he had changed from the title used in 1898, and a "coup d'oeil préliminaire" on interpolations. In the latter he proves that the first chapter was an interpolation and argues that it was made toward the end of the first half of the thirteenth century. The other interpolations are of less consequence. It is sincerely to be hoped that he had prepared, after his thirty years of labor on this manuscript, much of the material for the second volume, as in 1925 he made an outline of what it would contain. It is needless to say that this edition is of the greatest importance for all engaged in Franciscan studies.

The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent. Edited by N. Neilson, Ph.D., Professor of History in Mount Holyoke College. [British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales.] (London, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. xii, 255, 21 s.) Though the agrarian organization of Kent in the Middle Ages differed in many particulars from that found elsewhere in England, it is not these differences with which Dr. Neilson is primarily concerned in the present volume.¹ Her study is confined to the customs peculiar to weald and marsh in Kent but not common to the whole county. It is a continuation of her investigation of manorial organization in sections of England where the local topography necessitated the survival in the manorial economy of customs established in an earlier period (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 319).

The introduction is a monograph based on extensive researches in manuscript materials. Many of the forests in Kent, Dr. Neilson finds, were used in common by the Anglo-Saxon villages of the neighborhood for purposes of pasture and estovers. In the smaller woods located within the different lests the practice of intercommoning was similar to that found elsewhere in the wood common to a hundred or a soke, but within the great Andredsweald "villages lying at a long distance from it, as well as those that lay along its border, had units of pasture . . . called denns, probably often in addition to similar denns in woodlands of their own lest" (p. 5). When these denns became parts of manors, "the rents and customs paid by them to their parent manors were in partial contrast

¹ She has treated these in "Custom and the Common Law in Kent", *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII. 482-498.

at least to the rents and services of the anciently arable, *terra sulingata*, and the newly approved land of the marsh or waste" (p. 13). The development of the dennis, the exceptional dues (such as *danger* and *sumerhussilver*) received from them, and several other problems connected with the use of the forests (such, for example, as the tithe of *silva cedua*) are the principal topics treated. The exposition of custom in the marshland includes the rents and services characteristic of tenements in the marsh, the methods of improvement and colonization, *wrek-kum maris*, and the royal measures for protection of Romney marsh against "the hideous, uncouth, violent rage and aestuation of the sea" which was "too swift for the common law" (pp. 40, 42).

Although the estate of the priory of Bilsington was located partly in the weald and partly in the marsh, the cartulary and the terrier are useful chiefly for their description of conditions in the marsh. The cartulary consists almost entirely of charters. They were issued mainly during the fifty years following the foundation of the house in 1253, though a few are of earlier or later dates. A chronological list of priors with a statement of the lands acquired by each (p. 138), royal licenses to appropriate a church *in proprios usus* (p. 144) and to acquire lands despite the statute of mortmain (pp. 138-145), and a judgment with regard to the possession of tithes rendered *ad curiam Romanam* (p. 147) are among the few documents which are not conveyances of land. The terrier, written in a hand of the fifteenth century, surveys with much detail the many small tenements constituting the manor and their rents and dues. The abundant critical apparatus supplied by the editor completes a scholarly contribution to a significant and previously obscure aspect of English agrarian history.

W. E. LUNT.

Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, Diocesis Londoniensis. Edited by R. C. Fowler. Volume I. [Publications of the Canterbury and York Society, pts. LI., LVII., LXXI., and LXXX.] (London, the Society, 1916-1927, pp. 290.) The Canterbury and York Society is performing a service of exceptional importance to historical scholarship by the publication of English episcopal registers. These records throw light not only on the church but also on many phases of national life. The number of extant English registers is unusually large, but they are not easily available for research. The diocesan archives where they are deposited are widely scattered, and their possessors, generous as most of them are disposed to be, generally lack the facilities to accommodate all the students who may wish to consult the manuscripts.

In the present volume the relations between church and state are illustrated richly. The bishop appoints vicars to exercise his spiritual functions during his absence abroad on royal diplomatic missions (pp. vi, 38, 39). The king requires the bishop to produce clerks before the royal courts (pp. 52-59), to appoint collectors of a clerical tenth (pp.

75-79), to certify a will (p. 52), to distrain upon the ecclesiastical benefices of clerks who are in debt to the exchequer (pp. 45-82), and to perform a variety of other administrative tasks. Even the nature of the clerical debts is instructive. One of them, for example, is a fine imposed "for various transgressions and contempts done in the Roman curia" against the king (p. 45).

On the relations of the bishop to his clergy there is also much of interest. The processes followed in the elections of the heads of several religious houses are reported fully (pp. 86-118, 128-181). The disputed possession of tithes (p. 200) and of oblations (p. 204), the appropriation of a church (p. 83), and the foundation of a chapel (p. 219) are the subjects of typical entries. Institutions to benefices, which occupy a large space in the register, are for the most part tabulated by the editor. Accompanying explanatory notes supplement the list in Newcourt's *Reperitorium* in many particulars.

Only two letters from the pope appear. These and several archiepiscopal letters deal with a papal subsidy imposed in 1362 (pp. 182-200). Other correspondence from the archbishop gives instructions for the enforcement of two provincial constitutions. One requires the proper observance of holy days and the other fixes the stipends of unbeneficed clergy after the black death. The latter has been treated at length by Miss Bertha Putnam (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 18, *et seq.*). Another allusion to the plague occurs in a document of 1366. A monastery, referring to a recent "second mortality", alleges that its revenues and rents have been sorely reduced "per mortem servorum et colonum et tenentium", and its fertile and fruitful arable lands rendered sterile by the scarcity of laborers (p. 119). There are many other brief references to contemporary social and economic conditions.

In addition to an excellent edition of the text Mr. Fowler supplies a brief introduction. It contains a sketch of the career of Simon of Sudbury, a description of the manuscript and its contents, and a suggestive analysis of the causes of vacancies of benefices.

W. E. LUNT.

Les Entrées Solennelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484-1551. Par Josèphe Chartrou. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928, pp. 158, 30 fr.) To those who, like Dr. Chartrou, look back with envy to the days when every public act, the arrival of every distinguished personage, was made the excuse for colorful pageantry, the chief interest of this book will be found in the interminable accounts of involved allegories, costumes, and the like. Others, who are repelled by the contrast between the rather tasteless, even vulgar, display, and the acute misery of most of the French people during the years from 1484 to 1551, will be more impressed by other considerations, mentioned by M. Chartrou, but almost buried under the mass of detail. First of all, there is the pathetic frequency with which the figure of Peace appears in the ponderous al-

legories, always as a blessing just about to descend on a France drained of resources and men by futile wars. Again, the literal and unimaginative representation of Roman antiquity attests to the alien character of the classical ideas which were, during this period, becoming so popular in France. The king, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was represented by Caesar or some other Roman figure, rather than by Solomon or David, as he had been earlier, but "malgré toutes les modifications d'origine étrangère, l'Entrée royale reste une cérémonie française et médiévale". It is this evidence of the continued vitality shown by ideas inherited from the Middle Ages in the presence of the new interest in classical civilization apparent in sixteenth-century France, which constitutes the chief value of M. Chartrou's work.

RAYMOND SONTAG.

Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems, 1559-1660. Von Dr. Walter Platzhoff, Professor an der Universität Frankfurt a. M. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below, F. Meinecke, und A. Brackmann.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. xviii, 279, M. 12.50.) Professor Platzhoff has written an excellent guide to the involved political history of the European states during the years 1559 to 1660. The conflicts and cross-currents of the religious, dynastic, nationalistic, and commercial interests are well stated. Only occasionally, as in the mere mention (p. 130) of the Donauwörth affair (1607), is an important incident left unexplained. In so compact an account it is of course impossible to go into the details of many complicated situations, but the reader may find them by consulting the historical literature listed in the carefully selected general and special bibliographies. There are but a few omissions of essential books, notably the works of Sir Charles Firth. To the special student the reference to the most recent researches will be especially welcome.

The book falls naturally into three main divisions: the religious and political conditions in Europe in 1559, the period from 1559 to 1618, and from 1618 to 1660. Although the author pleads the lack of unity of the subject-matter in the second division, a greater degree of clarity might have been attained by abandoning too close an adherence to the chronological method. After 1618 the story runs smoothly.

The reviewer can not always agree with the author's conclusions and interpretations. Regarding the Spanish Armada, Dr. Platzhoff quotes with approval Ranke's words that the destinies of mankind hung in the balance (p. 101). Considering the economic ruin of Spain, which the author contends set in as early as the 1570's, it is difficult to see how Spain could ever have conquered England, even if the Armada had been victorious. Besides, when Philip made the attempt, would he not have been weakened rather than strengthened in his struggle against the Dutch? How then could the Armada's victory have been a mortal blow (*Todesstoss*) to the Dutch?

The author stresses the importance of the secret agreement made in 1617 between Ferdinand of Styria and Philip III. In fact he makes this so-called "Oñate treaty" the starting point of the Thirty Years War, and the cause of its extension (p. 149). One may well grant that the assurance of Spain's support encouraged Ferdinand to attempt the overthrow of the rights of the Bohemian Protestants guaranteed by the "Letter of Majesty". However, considering the inflammable state of the Empire, it seems more likely that the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by the Elector Palatine, and the transference of his electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria, turned a Bohemian revolt into a wide-spread conflict.

A few less important points may be mentioned. There is no proof that Elizabeth's ambition was a factor in persuading her husband to accept the Bohemian throne (p. 157). Felton, the murderer of Buckingham, can scarcely be called a "Puritan" fanatic (p. 180). "Independent" and "Congregationalist" were not interchangeable terms in Cromwell's day (p. 233).

Despite minor defects, Dr. Platzhoff has adequately filled the gap between the volumes of Fueter and Immich in this valuable series.

E. A. BELLER.

The Rôle of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century. By Martha Ornstein. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 308, \$3.00.) This dissertation, first printed in 1913, has enjoyed a high reputation as the only general survey in English of a most important subject. It is now reprinted with a brief foreword by its instigator, James Harvey Robinson. It consists of a sketchy account of the origin of "experimental science", a survey of the organization and work of the chief learned societies and journals, an examination of the welcome accorded science by the universities, and a detailed bibliography. Its general thesis is that it was in the scientific societies and not in the universities that "the new game was really invented and played". The main body of the book is a very useful compilation from the standard histories of the various bodies concerned, of great value to the general historian of culture. The author was especially handicapped by the lack of material in American libraries on the reception of science in the universities; she has very little to say about the two places where science was most welcomed, the Italian universities during the early years and the Dutch universities after the rise of Cartesianism. Consequently her generalizations are too sweeping.

It is in the author's assumptions about the rise of natural science that recent scholarship has most advanced beyond her account. She shares the view of the standard historians of science of the last generation, like Rosenberger, on whom she relies, that natural science was a "mutation" involving a complete break with the Medieval tradition and owing nothing to the heritage of Greek thought. For her, as for them, science has since that day been "experimental", founded on "observation" and "demon-

strable fact" alone. In the last generation research has exploded these naïve myths, although its results have hardly penetrated to the general historian. The work of Singer and Lynn Thorndike has been done since 1913; but Miss Ornstein makes no mention of Tannery and the epoch-making investigations of Duhem. Such scholars have shown the essential continuity of the seventeenth-century pioneers with the Medieval Franciscan and Occamite tradition, as well as the great scientific activity in the sixteenth-century universities. Recent studies have also made clear the subordinate part played by observation and experiment in the establishment of Newtonian science, and the complex system of rational assumptions, both Greek and Medieval, in which observation was involved. In consequence, the modern scholar would find Miss Ornstein's interpretation of the history of science, and of the real rôle of the societies, largely antiquated. She distorts the significance of individual figures, like Galileo and Descartes, and falls into the old error of misconceiving the genuine service of Bacon. Where the contemporary scholar sees the perfectly definite development of definite ideas in the thought of the seventeenth century, she sees only a confused and incomprehensible mixture of error and truth. Her book remains, therefore, the annals of science rather than a piece of genuine historical interpretation. It is to be hoped that the responsible historian will not much longer say, "there is no other work which gives so correct a notion of the manner in which our modern science got under way".

J. H. RANDALL, JR.

En Torno a un "Papel Anónimo" del Siglo XVIII. Por Abel Chanutón. [Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, número XL.] (Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1928, pp. 31, lv.) The Institute of Historical Research of the National University of Buenos Aires, through the publication of a large number of documents bearing on the history of Argentina and other Spanish-American states, is rendering a service, the value of which, to students of American history, becomes daily more apparent.

Among the latest documents to be published is the record of a quaint debate on the subject of antichrist, or the second coming of Jesus. Neither the timeliness nor the importance of this publication is to be sought in the document itself. This does, it is true, throw interesting light on the literary culture of viceregal Argentina. The author of the present pamphlet, however, finds of far greater intent the circumstances which surrounded the appearance of the document, and especially the interesting light it throws on the inquisition.

While in some other Spanish colonies the inquisition left behind it a long and sensational record of justice administered with the aid of barbaric instruments, the use of the torture, etc., in the Argentine the inquisition reflected the fact that it was functioning among a people but little given to mysticism, engrossed in the more practical activities of trade and industry, and not interested in the quarrels of dogmatists.

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Indeed the debate covered by the document now published is important as one of the very few instances in which the inquisition in the Argentine considered a case involving a dogmatic dispute and the charge of heresy, and in this it limited its action to the condemnation of a palpable error of doctrine without citing before it any offender other than the document in question which was condemned to be burned.

Señor Chaneón weaves a delightful little romance out of the few slender threads brought to light by the discovery of this document and raises the curtain on an interesting episode in the ending years of Spanish dominion.

WILLIAM F. MONTAVON.

Adam Smith, 1776-1926: Lectures to Commemorate the Sesquicentennial of the Publication of "The Wealth of Nations". (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. x, 241, \$3.00.) Few volumes have received such tribute to their enduring influence as was paid to the *Wealth of Nations* in 1926, not only in Chicago but also in other educational institutions of the country. Inevitably the lectures here printed are of unequal interest but all of them possess substance and offer suggestive lines for further work. The collection opens with two contributions from Professor Hollander, the "Dawn of a Science", and the "Founding of a School", in which, with an easy facility which is the delight and despair of his readers, he deals with an immense array of bibliographical material that under less skilful handling would have degenerated into a dull catalogue. Instead, it becomes a fascinating and suggestive interpretation of times and men. Professor J. M. Clark follows with a chapter on "Adam Smith and the Currents of History", in which he offers an examination of doctrine in its relation to environment well worth much study. His thesis is that the dominance, in the eighteenth century, of the idea of natural law necessarily prevented Smith from any development of the notion of a relative system of political economy.

Professor Douglas's account of "Smith's Theory of Value and Distribution" escapes the danger of revamping old material by tying his analysis of Smith's work to that of others of his own day and of the present, and showing how even Smith's errors carried the science forward. Both Professor Viner and Professor Morrow, in "Adam Smith and Laissez Faire" and "Adam Smith: Moralism and Philosopher", study their author's economic creed in the light of his philosophy as expressed in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Professor Viner being concerned to designate the points of conflict between the two books, Professor Morrow to show their complementary nature. Most difficult of accomplishment within the bounds of fifty pages was the discussion of the "Introduction of Adam Smith on the Continent". Here, Dr. Palyi indicates briefly the conditions in various European countries which, in some cases, forwarded, in others checked, the spread of Smith's influence. Few American students will be able to read his pages without encountering many writers

whom they have not known before. Those who approach the achievement of Professor Morrow's mythical man, who had read all of the *Wealth of Nations*, will find this volume the richer for what they bring to it; those to whom that classic is but a name may be tempted to make its further acquaintance by some of the lectures here printed.

Talleyrand, 1754-1838. Par G. Lacour-Gayet, Membre de l'Institut. Tome I., 1754-1799. (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 426, 40 fr.) Essays which the author has published especially in the *Revue de Paris* have for some years made it apparent that we might expect a new critical biography of the great diplomat. The first instalment which carries the story to the beginning of the Consulate will heighten the interest which the articles had already created. Those who remember the controversy which raged about the memoirs of Talleyrand, when these were first published a generation ago, will be glad to know that they have been subjected to an acute sifting process, with the aid of *documents inédits* from private collections and other sources. M. Lacour-Gayet shows, for example, that the stories of parental neglect were exaggerated, if not entirely fabricated, mainly for the purpose of the writer's own apologia. He frequently calls attention to statements the inexactitude of which may have been due to a lapse of memory, but which seem more likely to have been cases of deliberate falsehood. Talleyrand's assertion that he had no share in planning the Egyptian expedition the author calls "un mensonge d'une impudence rare", and adds "ne faut-il pas, quand on parle de Talleyrand d'avoir toujours présent à l'esprit le sage conseil *Nil admirare*, 'Ne s'étonner de rien'?" In his preface the author disclaims the intention of pursuing any "dénigrement systématique", and yet the cumulative impression of the narrative is of Talleyrand's moral obliquity perhaps more than of his intellectual power. Talleyrand's niece, the Duchesse de Dino once accounted for some of his most unfortunate deeds as examples of extraordinary "insouciance". But Lacour-Gayet would not be satisfied with that description. For example, he takes the reports of Talleyrand's avarice as not exaggerated, and quotes his exclamation to Benjamin Constant and Boniface de Castellane, when he was first appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Nous tenons la place: il faut y faire une fortune immense", adding that he repeated the last three words four times. And the author says that by the time of Talleyrand's resignation in July 1799 he had three millions well placed in Hamburg and London. Although the author displays no tendency to linger on Talleyrand's private life, the calm and pitiless manner in which the contrast between the functions of the priest and the bishop and the conduct of the man is described leaves an impression of almost uncanny wickedness. The only consciousness of depravity which Talleyrand seems to have exhibited was at the moment of his consecration as bishop of Autun, when the palms of his hands were anointed with holy oil. Then, relates the author, he had such a crisis of feeling that he became ill, and the ceremonies had to

pause until he regained his composure. There are, of course, other phases of the career of Talleyrand, and the author does full justice to these, but probably it is not the lights of the portrait so much as the shadows which will fix the attention of the reader. The second volume may correct the balance, for it was after 1800 that Talleyrand scored his greatest successes as a diplomat.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838. By William Law Mathieson, Hon.L.L.D., Aberdeen. (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. x, 318, \$6.40.) Dr. Mathieson, in his "study of British slavery and a narrative of the movement for its abolition", has essayed the task of filling "in some measure" a gap in the anti-slavery movement, in particular, the reception of anti-slavery measures in the West Indies. The short period covered is that from the parliamentary attack on slavery in 1823 to the abandonment of the apprenticeship system in 1838. The emphasis is placed on conditions among the 800,000 negroes in the colonies and on the working out there of measures insisted on by public and parliamentary opinion in Great Britain. The thread runs from island to island and back to England. With a lawyer's dry clarity, the author keeps his narrative free from confusion.

The comparison in the first chapter of British slavery with the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the Danish, although interesting and suggestive, does not avail itself of recent historical scholarship. The chief contrast made is with Spanish slavery, but no reference is made to Hubert H. S. Aimes, *The History of Slavery in Cuba*, nor to the work of Cuban and other Latin-American historians. Neither are the researches of Dr. Frank W. Pitman and of Dr. Waldemar Westergaard referred to.

The two chapters, explaining the attempts of the British government, during the years 1823-1833, to secure a series of reforms and to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by orders in council in the crown colonies and by pressure on the legislative colonies, give an excellent picture of the reception of the government policy and measures in the colonies. It would have been interesting to have had more detailed information on the fiscal controversy and the rivalry between the West and East Indians in Parliament out of which emancipation so largely grew. The last chapter is an analysis of the working of the apprenticeship and of its abandonment under the threat of renewed parliamentary legislation in Great Britain. A question arises, were the special magistrates sent out to supervise the apprenticeship, like most of the royal governors, men of military training? The Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius are excluded throughout from the discussion.

Some differences of opinion are inevitable. Three men are omitted or their importance diminished: George Thompson, Thomas Clarkson, and Zachary Macaulay. The minutes of the Anti-Slavery Committee

in London show that the last was of prime importance. The account of Joseph Sturge is probably too unfriendly (p. 314).

Dr. Mathieson's book raises the fundamental question whether anti-slavery, a state of mind, produced by national and international propaganda, and the institution of slavery can be studied together in a relatively short treatment. The facts of slavery are quite different from the creed and convictions of anti-slavery. An anti-slavery leader was often influential in proportion to his ignorance of the institution or to his willingness to misrepresent it. Many agitators had never been in the presence of actual slavery. Dr. Mathieson illustrates one method by the James Williams case: "In the space of about two and a half years he was seven times flogged, thrice incarcerated in the loathsome estate dungeon, and four times sentenced to the tread-mill; and in addition, having twice tried to escape from his tormentor, he had to make up fifty days' labour out of his free time. It was of course a quite exceptional case, . . . but truthfulness is a virtue which those who appeal to popular taste and passion can seldom afford to practise; . . ." (p. 283).

Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips has shown in his studies what methods and what sources must be used in the study of slavery as an institution. To this end anti-slavery literature is of questionable value. The view of English scholars that less has been written about English slavery than about the American is substantiated by the very appearance of this survey, drawn from old printed sources, which accomplishes the author's purpose as stated in his preface. But a detailed study of the institution of British slavery remains to be made.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

China and England. By W. E. Soothill, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. (London, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. iii, 228, \$3.00.) The title of this book does not indicate accurately its contents. It is not a history of the relations between China and England, though the first two chapters treat of that subject in a discursive manner. The succeeding chapters deal with such subjects as extra-territoriality, the concessions, and recent troubles in China; the concluding ones, with Chinese nationalism, especially as it was interpreted by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Professor Soothill enjoyed a long and useful career as a missionary and educator in China and writes with a sympathetic understanding of some of the difficulties of the Chinese. But the lectures which constitute this book (given "in Oxford at the request of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Committee"), whatever may have been the author's intention, are in fact concerned with a defense of British policy in China from attacks recently directed against it both at home and in the East. The book is chiefly interesting to the historian as an example of patriotic polemic.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Within the Walls of Nanking. By Alice Tisdale Hobart, with proem by Florence Ayscough, D.Litt. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1928, pp. 243, 6 s.) In the summer of 1846 Mr. Thomas Taylor Meadows, interpreter to her Britannic Majesty's consulate at Canton, gave to the world his distinguished, if not widely known, *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China*. Eighty-one years later Mesdames Hobart and Ayscough have published their *Within the Walls of Nanking*, a book similar in size—and significance. Mr. Meadows analyzed the elements and the longevity of Chinese civilization as he observed that civilization after the first series of violent impacts of West on East had reached their climax. The authors of the later work are as keen observers and competent reporters of things Chinese as was the annalist Meadows; each has published notable earlier volumes.

In her proem, Mrs. Ayscough presents a masterly analysis and appreciation of the foundations of Chinese civilization. She describes the pyramidal form of the ancient Chinese social structure resting upon the world—"All-Below-the-Sky"—with its four triangles composed of scholars, farmers, laborers, and traders; "at the apex, forming a communicating link between Heaven and Earth, firmly supported by each triangle, reposed the 'Son of Heaven'".

In perfect contrast to the China of the ideal, or even of the reality under the late imperial government, is that of the pseudo-republic described in part by Mrs. Hobart. Of the welter of horror which has prevailed at one time or another in all the provinces of China during the past decade and a half—famine, floods, pestilence, war, banditry, kidnapping, looting, assassination, rape—no clearer and less sentimental account has been given. Specifically the narrative deals with the Nanking affair of March 24, 1927, but the background of events and conditions leading to this climax is sketched in telling fashion. The account does not purport to be history in the strict sense of the term, but the fact that it is given in an informal and somewhat impressionistic manner in no way robs it of value to the student of history. One might wish that Mrs. Hobart had been able to incorporate more of the experiences of the other Westerners in Nanking, and of the Japanese, who were not on Socony Hill but whose experiences were no more pleasant than those of the beleaguered on that hill overlooking the Yangtse. That American publishers refused to publish this account but indicates how great is the need of the American people for non-sentimental information of contemporary developments in China. No student of Far Eastern affairs can afford to ignore this work.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR.

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. Volume III., May 1, 1705–October 23, 1721. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1928, pp. vii, 679, \$5.00.) This volume is a mine of information for the student of colonial history. It covers

the last months of Sir Francis Nicholson's administration, the administrations of Edward Nott and President Edmund Jennings, and most of the administration of Alexander Spotswood. These years constitute one of the most important periods of Virginia history—a transition period which saw the rapid growth of the power of the House of Burgesses, the fixing of slavery as the basis of the economic system of the colony, the checking of immigration from England, the emigration of many poor whites to other colonies and the degrading of others, the expansion of the wealthy planter class, the building up of large estates. Much light is thrown on all these matters. The council journals give us an interesting picture of Alexander Spotswood. We see the governor attempting to Christianize the Indians, denouncing the burgesses, quarrelling with his council, pleading for the removal of irksome restrictions on the tobacco trade, organizing the militia, suppressing piracy.

Students are just beginning to realize the importance of the fur and skin trade in the Southern colonies, and its far-reaching effect, not only upon Indian relations, but upon intercolonial affairs as well. For investigation in this field, this volume is indispensable. Page after page is filled with the negotiations of the governor and council with sister colonies concerning the Indians, or their dealings with the Tuscaroras, the Five Nations, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, the Saponies, the Nottoways, the Menerrins.

Of equal importance is the question of westward expansion. The growth of population and the exhaustion of the soil by tobacco planting in the older parts of Virginia, were pushing the frontiers past the fall line out into the piedmont region. The creation of Spottsylvania County marked a new epoch in Virginia history, with its problems of transportation and quarrels over taxation and representation. On this subject, too, we find much important information.

The publication of this volume of the *Executive Journals of the Council* provides an important link in the primary sources of Virginia history in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. With the *Calendar of State Papers*, the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, the *Spotswood Papers*, Hening's *Statutes at Large*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, it makes possible an exhaustive study of this period without a visit to the British Public Record Office. The student will await expectantly the appearance of the next volume, which, it is hoped, will shed much needed light upon the long administration of Governor Gooch.

T. J. WERTENBAKER.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick, Ph.D., Litt.D., Director and State Historian. Volume VI. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1928, pp. xiv, 789, \$2.50.) The present volume covers the year 1768 and the first half of 1769. As in previous volumes

of the series evidences of the destructiveness of fire appear on almost every page. Hardly a single document drawn from the original Johnson collection in Albany appears in undamaged form. About a hundred papers are noted as having been entirely destroyed, but some sixty of these have been printed elsewhere. Roughly one hundred of the 520 documents printed in the volume are taken from other depositories, such as the Library of Congress, the library of Harvard College, and the Public Record Office in London. Unfortunately the editor could not utilize a number of original Johnson letters recently found in a private collection in England.

The significance of Sir William Johnson's position as superintendent of Indian affairs is again illustrated by the character of this correspondence. Its lines radiated in every direction. We find letters to and from Lord Shelburne, Lord Hillsborough, General Thomas Gage, the governors of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, John Stuart, various other Indian agents, military officials, and clergymen of the Anglican church. Other representative material in the collection consists of accounts, bills, invoices, memorials, depositions, journals of transactions of Indian congresses, and financial transactions with merchants, Indian officials, and military authorities.

The central theme of this volume, as of its predecessors, is the adjustment of Indian affairs. The maintenance of peace, involving the establishment of the Indian boundary line in 1768, and the management of trade are two of the most important topics. There is material on the Congress of Fort Stanwix in 1768, the Susquehanna Company and the Wyoming lands, and the Kayadarosseras patent. Other interests revealed in the documents are the beginnings of the copper industry in the Lake Superior region, and the iron industry in New York. Throughout the whole volume one finds increasing evidences of the unsettled state of the relations between the colonies and England, and of Johnson's disapproval of the colonial viewpoint.

The editorial work is well done. In the opinion of the reviewer the value of the work would have been increased, however, by the inclusion of additional explanatory notes. The more frequent identification of men and events is especially desirable. But the lack of an index is a greater handicap to those who are using the volumes as they appear. At times it provokes great irritation, if nothing worse.

C. E. CARTER.

History of the Explosives Industry in America. By Arthur Pine Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, pp. xxxviii, 1132.) Irrespective of any disinclination one may have to admit it or to acknowledge the logical deductions to be made therefrom, the brutal fact remains that our civilization has been gained, protected, expanded, and sustained by force. The struggle against hostile neighbor, over-lord, and nature has been continuous in the past and will

endure, modified in type, as conditions change or as new needs arise, but based always on the fundamental urge to overcome the obstacles that separate us from our desires.

Explosives have earned an honored place in peace and war by the assistance they have given to the advancement of the ideals of democracy and of the legal equality of men, and by what they have done to facilitate man's efforts to obtain the basic raw materials on which civilized life depends and to bend nature to his needs.

This *History of the Explosives Industry in America* is a record made by competent hands of these explosive agents and their accessories, of the organizations which are, or have been, engaged in their production and of the men directing them, that have done and are doing their part—and a very important part it is and has been—in the winning, holding, and development of this continent and nation.

The book consists of a preface, an introduction, appendixes; and is divided into parts I.–VI., inclusive, each of which, subdivided in turn into appropriate chapters, considers in a comprehensive manner those data which fall logically under the particular one of the following general subjects with which it deals: Black Powder; Nitroglycerine and Dynamite; Blasting Supplies; Smokeless Powder; Military Explosives; Explosives in the Making of America.

Three of the first five parts begin with one or more chapters, devoted to a general historical outline of the origin and growth of the explosive agent, or agents, under consideration and the past and present application in industry, or war, or both. The chapters which follow contain a more detailed discussion of the industrial organizations and their personnel which are, or have been, engaged in its manufacture, and of how they have faced the problems of organization, production, distribution, and of product employment that have confronted them. Parts III. and V. condense this into one chapter. Part VI., after calling attention in its introductory chapter to the little realized fact that dynamite has been a most potent factor in making possible the material progress of civilization, discusses in the two which follow what explosives have done to facilitate the extraction of certain minerals and oil and to assist the progress of various great engineering projects.

Those interested in any phase of the past or present of the explosives industry, except the complete details of technical procedure in all cases with respect to composition or manufacture, will find in this volume a veritable mine of information. However, the technical side has not been neglected since, to the authors, "it has seemed best to treat the technical development of the industry somewhat in detail, especially as existing text books have little to say about American practice". There are so many interesting things discussed—or better, so many things interestingly discussed—that to attempt to comment on any of them within the space limits available would be unfair and most unsatisfactory. Let it suffice to say that the form, scope, and content of this work leave little, if anything, to be desired.

Any appraisal of this book can not be better expressed than has been done by Dr. Charles E. Munroe in his excellent and most interesting introduction: "The authors have written with such frankness and enthusiasm, and with such evident knowledge of their subject, that the narrative arouses the interest of the reader and continues throughout to hold his attention. The result is a book of permanent value and abiding interest."

JOHN HALE STUTESMAN.

Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution, with Special Reference to the Northern Towns. By Michael Kraus, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 302.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 251, \$4.00.) In his introduction Dr. Kraus ventures the opinion that, on the one hand, scholars have done little to relate colonial culture to the general stream of European civilization and that, on the other, the attention ordinarily given to differences among the colonies has tended to obscure the fact of the growth of a common provincial civilization. The clumsy title of this slender volume covers an attempt, not at all clumsy, indeed very ingenious, to redress the balance in the latter instance. Few of the interlacing cultural strands are overlooked. There are reasonably full treatments, for example, of such matters as the improvement of roads and postal facilities and of coastwise communication, the circulation of books and newspapers, the interprovincial economic ties, the numerous religious and scientific contacts, and the prevalence of common artistic tastes. Of particular interest and freshness is the discussion of the migration of individuals from province to province for business, professional, and educational reasons and the social and political bonds resulting from the frequent intermarriage across provincial boundaries.

By the painstaking process of accumulating myriad data the author makes out a convincing case for the existence of a wide diversity of common interests; but am I wrong in thinking that no historian, even without the benefit of this excellent guide-book, would be inclined to deny the general fact? Indeed, twenty-three years ago James Schouler published his still very useful book entitled *Americans of 1776*, in which Dr. Kraus's thesis was implicit on almost every page. In any case, however, this well-documented volume supplies a greater abundance of exact information on the point than has hitherto been readily available, and incidentally sheds light on the general aspects of colonial civilization in the mid-eighteenth century.

The main imperfections of the book grow chiefly out of the inherent difficulties of the author's task. His narrative is crammed with facts; but after all it is in the realm of fact rather than theory that he could alone hope to make a real contribution. He is moreover constantly engaged in the provoking business of describing the interrelations of things without saying too much or too little about the things themselves. He is

more culpable in restricting his treatment chiefly to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, a choice dictated doubtless by eagerness to publish his preliminary findings, but essentially disloyal to the conception of a well-knit culture among the thirteen provinces. It is not always clear whether the author's terminal date is 1763, at which time for instance he halts his discussion of the intercolonial affiliations of the merchants and of the mechanics, or 1775, to which date he ordinarily carries his story. Finally, the usefulness of the work would be greatly enhanced by a less capricious index.

A. M. SCHLESINGER.

British Headquarters, Maps and Sketches used by Sir Henry Clinton, while in Command of the British Forces operating in North America during the War for Independence. By Randolph G. Adams. (Ann Arbor, William L. Clements Library, 1928, pp. vi, 144, \$1.50.) This book lists and describes briefly the maps found in the Clinton Papers, a collection which was acquired in 1925 by Mr. William L. Clements from the descendants of Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British army in North America, 1778-1782. The maps are three hundred and fifty in number and vary in size from small sketches six by six inches to large wall maps four by six feet. With some exceptions they cover the period of the American Revolution and the territory of the Thirteen Colonies. Several maps relate to Canada, and three to the Indian campaigns in the Northwest Territory a decade after the close of the Revolution. The printed maps, about one-ninth of the whole, cover the period 1755-1806. Of these, the rarities are the Ratzer map of New York, 1776; Price map of Boston, 1769; Park map of Connecticut, 1766; Sauthier map of New York state, 1779; and sections of the Roman's map of Florida, 1774.

The manuscript maps are of great value for the military history of the Revolution and for local history. Many of them are plans or sketches of forts, battles, towns, and other small places. Some of them are undated and without the name of the author or indication of the object for which made. There are however memoranda and notes in the Clinton Papers which relate to the maps and which should be used in connection with them. Fifteen maps found in the papers and not identified are not listed in the book. Five of them seem to relate to European campaigns.

The maps have been listed according to an excellent plan that gives the kind of map (finished, unfinished, typographical, etc.), the scale, and dimensions. The listing and indexing are well done and the format is pleasing. The frontispiece, a portrait of Captain John Montresor, has not hitherto been reproduced. To supplement this collection the William L. Clements Library has recently obtained photostats of the manuscript maps, covering the period of the Revolution, of the Jared Sparks Collection at Cornell University, and the Robert Erskine Collection in the New York Historical Society.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: the British Story. By Allen French. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. vi, 90, \$2.50.) Mr. French has written an interesting monograph on an event that has received much attention from historians.

His foreword assures the reader that it "is not a careless or mischievous attempt to reopen a subject on which there has been much controversy". The title, "the British Story", is misleading. "A more or less discredited British officer's story", would be nearer the truth. The monograph has brought an added interest to the controversy: was Arnold in equal command with Ethan Allen, of the men who captured Ticonderoga, and did Ethan Allen demand the surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress"? Mr. French states: "Feltham has made it clear that the old controversy as to whether Arnold was admitted to equal command with Allen, should now cease. For it would seem to be proved that Ticonderoga was surrendered not merely to two bold adventurers, nor upon a bombastic demand, but to the authority of Massachusetts and Connecticut, exercised jointly." This would be the natural conclusion of one not familiar with the background of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, who would take no orders from, or serve under any one but Allen. Whether or no Arnold was joint commander should never have been of any importance, because, if he was, it was not by a higher authority, but by the courtesy of Allen. Arnold confirms this (p. 85): "On and before our taking possession here, I had agreed with Colonel Allen to issue further orders jointly. After capture, Allen 'positively insisted I should have no command'. 'He assumed the entire command. . . .'"

The taking of Ticonderoga was accomplished within a few minutes. Delaplace's room, within which was his wife, and probably his two children, faced, and was within a few rods from the "covered way" through which Allen entered the fort. Delaplace may have been at the front door with his breeches in his hand, with his wife peering over his shoulder, surrendering the fort when Felthman was pounding on his back door. Feltham returned after dressing, and he must have been fully dressed, for one puts on trousers before coat and vest, and he knew Mrs. Delaplace was there. Many of the conclusions drawn by Mr. French are not tenable. Feltham's statement of what Allen and Arnold replied when he enquired by what authority they demanded surrender, reads like a conversation held after, and not during the excitement of capture. Their replies, as he states them, did not answer his question. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Congress did not want the responsibility. Allen and his Green Mountain Boys acknowledged no authority. They came from a "no man's land" that soon became and remained, for fourteen years, a republic. Whether or not Allen made the reply he states he did, it was characteristic of him.

JAMES B. WILBUR.

The John Askin Papers. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Volume I., 1747-1795. [Burton Historical Records, I.] (Detroit, Detroit Library Commission, 1928, pp. 657, \$5.00.) The beginning of a systematic publication of the rich store of manuscript material in the Burton Collection at Detroit is an event of importance to all students of the history of the Old Northwest. For the first volume of the Burton Historical Records, the Detroit Library Commission, which has undertaken the work of publication with the competent editorial assistance of Dr. Quaife, has selected the papers of John Askin, whose activities as fur trader, land speculator, local magistrate, and prominent citizen of Detroit, throw light upon various phases of the history of that region in the period of the American Revolution and following.

Of the value of this volume to the local historian and genealogist there can be no question. The numerous biographical notices alone, compiled largely from unpublished records, will be invaluable to the future historian of Detroit, and their usefulness is enhanced by an excellent index. To the general historian, however, the present volume is likely to prove disappointing. During the years principally covered by these papers, 1778-1795, many important events were occurring in the Northwest, yet little information concerning them can be found here. Askin himself, and, for the most part, his correspondents, were little interested in politics save as politics affected business. The documents for the period of the American Revolution contain only the barest allusions to political events, and save for one or two documents relating to the Treaty of Greenville, there is little of value upon the Anglo-American contest for the Western posts.

Curiously enough it is of Old World events that we get the most interesting information. The letters of Askin's son-in-law, an English army officer, and of a business correspondent, William Robertson, picture, almost dramatically, the England of 1792, secure, "inferentially rich", at first but mildly interested in events across the Channel, then stirred to repugnance at the increasing violence of the Revolution, and, finally, embarking upon a crusade against it. With remarkable political acumen, Robertson, who had travelled in France, saw the futility of attempting to stamp out so tremendous a movement by means of a coalition of quarrelling and mutually jealous sovereigns. The repercussion of these events was felt even in Detroit, for the price of furs fell disastrously, leaving Askin, among others, heavily in debt. The letters of Askin's daughter, Mrs. Meredith, with their amusing fashion notes, supply an equally interesting foot-note to the social history of the period.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South. By Broadus Mitchell, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1928, pp. xi, 331, \$3.00.) This "essay" undertakes first to disclose "the main facts in the life of William Gregg", who was born in Western Virginia,

in 1800, of Scotch-Irish Quaker ancestry; who amassed capital as a jeweler, and became "the father of Southern cotton manufacture"; "and second, to record in some detail the operations during Gregg's lifetime of the Graniteville Factory" which in 1846 he built in South Carolina. Dr. Mitchell, a pioneer recorder of Southern economic history, realizes his double ambition. He shows Gregg as practical mechanic and as author of *Essays on Domestic Industry* on which his fame rests no less than on Graniteville. He reveals him as a humanitarian who tirelessly worked to make the industry the stepping-stone for Southern poor whites from ignorance and sloth to education and thrift. Obviously, Dr. Mitchell loves his subject, but though only gently critical does not eulogize him. Since, however, Gregg labored for love, hewed out a path to successful cotton manufacture, and unquestionably set a standard for social betterment, I do not see why Dr. Mitchell calls him a "tragic figure". What if Gregg did "oppose an economic system built up on agriculture"? In maintaining that the ante-bellum Southerner "would not, could not, act upon" Gregg's example, his biographer takes a stand which further research may quash.

Dr. Mitchell's English is straightforward, but his chapter headings sometimes mislead and his essay rambles. Thus in Planks versus Railroads, he trails into Southern commercial conventions, thence to Gregg's diary. In the first seventeen pages of the Declared Protectionist he practically ignores the tariff which he treats in pages 149-151. I wish he had linked industrial and political themes, and thus thrown more light on South Carolinian and Southern history. He fails to do this for the period both before and after 1860. He sees Gregg's spontaneous acceptance of secession as typical Confederate loyalty. Might not the Southern manufacturer, an American nationalist in 1845, have become a Southern nationalist after the Wilmot Proviso? Study of the sales-books might shed light by revealing where Gregg found his best markets. The real weakness is the scanty documentary material for Graniteville and Dr. Mitchell's neglect to use the ledgers, journals, and letter-books. If that type of record was destroyed he does not deplore it. Though thin and too hastily written, the book embodies material which contributes to the specialist in Southern history and ultimately to American history. Except for the finely typed notes, the format is excellent. I miss a bibliography of sources. It is to be hoped that in the near future Dr. Mitchell will edit Gregg's papers.

KATHLEEN BRUCE.

American Policies Abroad, Mexico. By J. Fred Rippy, José Vasconcelos, and Guy Stevens. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xii, 254, \$1.50.) This little book contains an admirable presentation from three different viewpoints of the relations between Mexico and the United States since the downfall of the Diaz régime.

Dr. Rippy presents the situation from the viewpoint of an advanced liberal, deeply sympathetic with the larger purposes of the Mexican

Revolution. José Vasconcelos, former secretary of public instruction of Mexico, deals with the situation from the view-point of a Mexican statesman, deeply interested in the welfare of the masses of the people. The third of the papers published in this book is by Guy Stevens, director of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico. Mr. Stevens's presentation is frankly from the point of view of the interests of the foreign investor and is very valuable as a clear presentation of what a foreigner considers requisite for the adequate protection of vested rights in Mexico.

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has done a very real service in the education of public opinion in the United States in publishing this little volume.

The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: an Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874-1884. By C. Henry Smith, Ph.D., Professor of History in Bluffton College. (Berne, Indiana, Mennonite Book Concern, 1927, pp. 296, \$2.25.) It is enlightening to note how many of America's immigrants have made her their second choice. The Pilgrim fathers tarried a while in another land, and from the seventeenth century until far into the nineteenth, Europeans searched the atlases for some spot they might colonize, which was not under the flag of Great Britain or the United States. That America received the bulk of the great modern exodus was due to circumstances other than the will of the emigrants.

Shortly after 1786, when both the church and state adopted a more vigorous policy, many communities of Prussian Mennonites were convinced that they should look for a new home. Several possibilities, including America, were considered but the inducements offered by Catherine of Russia were so inviting that over six thousand Mennonites left the banks of the Vistula and established themselves on the steppes of Southern Russia. Here for almost a century they lived in peace, developed thriving agricultural communities, and, as a result of isolation, their distinctive political, religious, and social ideas were intensified. But about 1870 it became evident that the Tsar would inaugurate a system of universal military service and abolish the special exemptions upon which the settlements rested. Again emigration was necessary. This time there was no doubt about the advisability of crossing the Atlantic. In 1873 delegates were sent over to spy out the land. They were wooed by representatives of land and railroad companies and state and provincial boards of immigration. An attempt to secure a special grant of land failed in Congress and as the delegates could not agree upon any of the private offers, the migration which began in 1874 was divided, eight thousand settling in Canada and ten thousand in the United States, about half of the latter locating in Kansas.

The history of this migration and settlement is told by Dr. Smith, who secures his information from church and local periodicals, reminiscences, and unpublished letters and diaries. The professional historian

would welcome more foot-notes and specific references. But the book itself is practically a source, and the chapters on Establishing Frontier Homes and Transplanting a Bit of Russia are valuable contributions which will suggest much to the student of the social development of the plains. It is encouraging to read an account of the coming of a European stock, which is not concerned with the problem of what that stock contributed to American civilization but discusses more fundamental matters, such as how lands were secured, wells dug, churches and schools established and transformed, and a peculiar social organization broken down by the forces of American environment. The last chapter is a graphic description of what the "conscientious objector" suffered during the recent war.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Educational Activities of New England Quakers: a Source Book. By Zora Klain, Ph.D., New Jersey College for Women. (Philadelphia, Westbrook Publishing Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 228.) Dr. Klain has done for the study of Quaker education in New England a similar piece of work to that done for Quaker education in Pennsylvania by Dr. Thomas Woody. He has searched the old Quaker record-books with care and patience and he has presented from original sources the slow but steady growth of Quaker education in the New England colonies, and the great expansion of educational facilities and equipment in the nineteenth century.

The book opens with a brief account of the Quaker "invasion" of New England in the face of a hostile world and of the early and primitive attempts at education in the local Quaker meeting-houses. The author finds that from 1684 onwards the general yearly meeting body of New England had from time to time a committee on education for their entire field. From 1778 the educational vision widened and the interest deepened. One begins to see at this period the shaping influence of that rare educational patron, Moses Brown of Providence. Brown University owes him a great debt of gratitude and the present Moses Brown School rightly looks to him as its founder. The story of the birth and development of the second Quaker boarding school in New England, Oak Grove Seminary at Vassalboro, Maine, is well told.

But by far the most important feature of the book is the history of the small colonial schools in widely sundered monthly meetings of New England, in Newport, Smithfield, Portsmouth, Nantucket, Sandwich, and many other regions, and one notes with interest that everywhere the care for the education of girls equals that for the education of boys.

The author has done his work well and those who are seeking for facts about the beginnings of educational methods in the New England colonies will prize this book. It would have been well if he had made a more detailed account of the restraints and limitations of what the Quakers called "guarded education".

RUFUS M. JONES.

Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa. By John A. Hopkins, jr. [Iowa Economic History Series, ed. B. F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1928, pp. xvi, 248, \$2.00.) In making this study "it was desired", runs the author's preface, "to trace the development of the beef enterprise as it was shaped by the economic forces operating in the environment of the young and growing State of Iowa". Such influences were the price and the acreage of corn, the coming of the railways, the contraction of the Western ranges, the boom and the panic of 1907, improvements in forage crops and methods of production, the demands of the World War, depression and recovery following the war, and the rise of the dairying industry.

Chapter I., Antecedents of Beef Production in Iowa, is a well-compressed account of the advance of the cattle frontier across the United States. Seven of the ten chapters portray an historical background on which play the economic influences. The reviewer would have preferred to print one of the best chapters, the one on the influence of transportation, as chapter IV. instead of as chapter IX. Other chapters explain the stocking of the state with cattle, the grazing of herds, the place of beef cattle in farming, the changing methods of finishing cattle, and the financing and the marketing of Iowan beef cattle.

Readers will admire the excellent print, paper, and binding. Eleven charts, well placed, are distinct assets to the text, but the reviewer doubts the value of the seven tables. Embedded in the two hundred and thirty-four notes and references are many pat illustrations which could better have been used to brighten the text. A prosaic topic has been treated with care and faithfulness in a book which will be a substantial addition to the economic history of a state. Newspapers, books, official reports, and census records have been combed. Over seventy of the notes and references relate to about one hundred and fifty interviews. The information which can be obtained from the old settlers, notes the author, is less definite but more descriptive than that available from other sources. Some readers may regard it as less trustworthy also.

LOUIS PELZER.

Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America. By Alfred Hasbrouck, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press; London, P. S. King and Son, 1928, pp. 470, \$6.75.) Despite the title, this work does not cover all of Spanish South America, and makes no claim to do so. It is concerned wholly with the struggle for independence in the northern part of the continent, under the leadership of Simon Bolivar. The book includes fourteen chapters with the following interesting headings: Preliminary to the Scene of Action; Whence the Legionaries Came; Mustering the Vanguard; Early Campaigns on Tropical Shores; A British Contingent and its Prowess; Two Militant Scotchmen on a Venture; The Irish to the Fore; Passing the Andes to Freedom; Struggling on the Plains for Liberty; Fighting on a Mountain-side

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for Independence; Liberation Attained; Some of the Legionaries and their Later Fortunes; Soldiers from Many Nations in a Common Cause; What the Legionaries Signified. There are a number of appendixes, chiefly lists of names of legionaries; a classified bibliography showing that the author had access to probably all of the important manuscript and printed material on the subject; a satisfactory index; and a map in black and white showing the military operations in which the legionaries had a part.

The British Isles furnished most of the foreign legionaries, but a considerable number came from Germany, and a scattering from other countries. They included all types, and such extremes as the grotesque and criminal humbug Gregor McGregor and the amazingly gallant Colonel James Rooke. Though never more than a few hundred of foreigners were engaged in any military operation, their presence, because of the small size of the armies on both sides, more than once threw the balance of strength to the revolutionary forces. In one case at least—the decisive battle of Carabobo in Venezuela—victory was largely due to the action of the British battalion. Alien reinforcements also enabled Bolívar to undertake the New Granada campaign, an important link in the chain of events bringing liberation from Spain. Dr. Hasbrouck makes a number of interesting comparisons between the revolution of the Thirteen Colonies of England and the South-American struggle for independence under Bolívar, and the foreign aid given in both instances. Lafayette he likens to General Daniel O'Leary, and Steuben, to Johannes Uslar, commander in South America of the Hanoverian legion.

A few typographical errors crept in. Apparently a slip occurred on page 179, where General Urdaneta is mentioned instead of General Montilla.

The author shows an unusual grasp on the various phases of his subject, for his career as an officer in the United States army familiarized him with the technique of war, the psychology of the soldier, the influence of tropical climate, and the mental characteristics of the Latin-American people. The book is well written, with vivid word pictures of battles and an occasional touch of friendly humor, and makes interesting reading. It deals with a subject before practically untouched, and is one of the best monographs so far produced from the meagrely-tilled field of Latin-American history.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution, 1836, by the Chief Participants. Translated with notes by Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin-American Librarian, University of Texas. (Dallas, P. L. Turner Company, 1928, pp. vii, 391.) This volume is a translation of five controversial booklets published during 1836–1838 by notable participants in the Mexican campaign against the Texan revolutionists. The earliest document, in the order of original publication, is General Vicente Filisola's

Representation to the Supreme Government with Notes on his Operations as General-in-Chief of the Army of Texas. Its purpose was to refute charges and imputations in a report of General José Urrea to the Secretary of War that Filisola, who became commander-in-chief of the Mexican army after the capture of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, was guilty of criminal stupidity if not of cowardice in abandoning the invasion and ordering a retreat from Texas. Its chief historical value lies in its concrete statement of the distribution and numbers of the various Mexican divisions and in its indirect revelation of the deficient commissary equipment of the invading army. The second pamphlet is Santa Anna's *Manifesto relative to his Operations in the Texas Campaign and his Capture*; the third is a satire on Santa Anna's *Manifesto* by Ramón Martínez Caro, who, during the Texas campaign, was Santa Anna's private secretary. The historical value of the *Manifesto* is negligible, but its biographical consequence is considerable. Caro's diatribe is chiefly personal but contributes suggestive commentaries upon various phases of the invasion. The fourth document is General José Urrea's *Diary of the Military Operations which under his Command Campaigned in Texas*. Urrea enjoyed the controversial advantage of saying the last word. His diary is a sober, day-to-day record of operations, into which he wove rejoinders to Santa Anna and Filisola. The fifth pamphlet is José María Tornel's *Relations between Texas, the United States of America, and Mexico*. Tornel had served his country as minister to the United States in 1833 and during the Texas Revolution was Secretary of War. He states his thesis in a sentence and elaborates it through a hundred pages: "For more than fifty years, that is, from the very period of their political infancy, the prevailing thought in the United States of America has been the acquisition of the greater part of the territory that formerly belonged to Spain, particularly that part which today belongs to the Mexican nation."

The aggregate historical value of this collection of controversial tracts is considerable, particularly in revealing enduring traits of Mexican psychology. The translation is well done. The English is precise, clean-cut, and idiomatic, and reads easily and entertainingly. The editorial notes are scant but are written with knowledge and discrimination.

E. C. B.

Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico. By George P. Hammond, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Southern California. (Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, vol. II.) (Santa Fe, El Palacio Press, 1927, pp. vii, 228.) The occupation of New Mexico, after a half century of abortive attempts, was Don Juan de Oñate's contribution to the colonization of America by Spain. The story of Oñate's enterprise, which started with high hopes and ended in disillusionment, is the subject of Dr. Hammond's volume, which is published now in book form, after having appeared

serially in the *New Mexico Historical Review*. The study is based in part on materials discovered by the author in Spanish archives. They have not enabled him to remake the story of the New Mexican conquest, or overturn accepted conclusions, but he has been able to fill gaps and supplement here and there.

Although this work is to be commended as an accurate, concise, factual account of the founding of New Mexico, it nevertheless leaves much to be desired. Oñate appears to be the central figure in the story, yet a satisfactory characterization and estimation of the man has been neglected. The conquistador remains, after a reading of the account of the expedition, a vague, intangible character. The division of the subject matter also appears to be disproportionate. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to preliminaries, whereas the story of the expedition itself is told in an equal number of pages. A description of Spanish provincial government in New Mexico is omitted. The mechanics of administration are never alluded to. There is a like deficiency with respect to economic organization. Dr. Hammond omitted details that are indispensable to a satisfactory description of the implanting of Spanish civilization in New Mexico.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor died September 30 at the age of seventy-four. His great work is the *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* of which twelve volumes have been published, the first in 1886, the twelfth in 1927. But he was a marvel of industry, and he found time to write a life of his master Janssen, to publish additional volumes of the latter's *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, and to bring out a new edition of the whole work, as well as to write a half dozen other volumes. For the first volume of this *Review* (pp. 526-529) Professor George L. Burr contributed a masterly criticism of the third volume of the History of the Popes; in this and the reviews of the succeeding volumes, as they have appeared, will be found an appreciation of Pastor's "abundant erudition", "sane and self-reliant criticism", "excessive caution", "half apologetic flavor", and also of his "ultramontane convictions". Many deserved honors came to Pastor. For over a quarter of a century he has been Director of the Austrian Institute of Historical Studies at Rome. It is hoped that he has left material in manuscript for more volumes of his great work.

François Victor Alphonse Aulard died on October 23 at the age of seventy-nine. Almost half a century ago he began his study of the French Revolution. As a professor he trained many workers in that field; as president of the Société d'Histoire de la Révolution Française and as editor of the *Révolution Française* he directed the publications. His *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* appeared in a fifth edition in 1905. Of the *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* twenty-six volumes were published between 1889 and 1909. He was also the author or editor of many other volumes upon the history of the Revolution. He was frequently engaged in altercations, but now is remembered as the scholar to whom all students of the Revolution are especially indebted.

Thomas F. Moran, for thirty-three years professor of history and economics in Purdue University, died on October 21 at the age of sixty-two. He was the author of well-known books on politics and government.

Dr. Paul van Dyke, director of the American University Union at Paris, has been appointed Harvard exchange professor to the French provincial universities.

Dr. D. M. Fisk, formerly of Columbia, has been made an assistant professor of history at Temple University.

Professor J. Edgar Swain of Muhlenberg College has leave of absence for the second semester, which he will spend in research in France and Germany.

Professor R. S. Cotterill of the University of Louisville has been made professor of history in the Florida State College for Women.

In Indiana University Dr. William T. Morgan has been made professor of history.

Dr. Rolf Johannesen, formerly acting professor of history in Indiana University, has been made head of the department of history in the State College for Women at Columbus, Miss.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, of the Minnesota Historical Society, is spending the year in Norway studying the background of Norwegian immigration to America, through the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship.

Professor E. H. Byrne of the University of Wisconsin is to be absent on leave next year to continue his work in the archives at Genoa.

Professor T. W. Riker, of the University of Texas, will have leave of absence during the second semester to work on his book "The Making of Rumania as an International Problem". His place in the University of Texas will be taken by Dr. Clarence Perkins of the University of North Dakota.

GENERAL

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale, 1927-1928* (Revue Historique, July).

For the year 1928-1929 the Social Science Research Council has granted fellowships, as already noted, to A. S. Aiton and F. B. Artz, and, in addition, to Miss Helen M. Allen to work on British Commercial Policy in North America from 1783 to 1793, and to Michael Kraus for an investigation of the Relations between the American Colonies and Europe in the Eighteenth Century. It has also made grants-in-aid to C. L. Grose to work on a Bibliography of English History, 1660 to 1760, to Mark Mohler for an investigation of the Influence of Religious Bodies in the United States on the Development of Public Sentiment for World Peace, and thus of their Influence on National Policy, to F. J. Klingberg for research in Modern English history in the Period between 1815-1867, and to Louise Overacker for a study of the Use of Money in Elections.

The indefatigable Henri Sée has found sufficient leisure in the midst of his multitudinous publications on economic history to meditate at some length on the *Science et Philosophie de l'Histoire* (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. 513).

On November 1, 1928, appeared the first number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*. It is a substantial quarterly, the first issue being made up of 175 pages. A special run of all-rag paper is provided for library subscribers. The Harvard University Press is publishing the *Journal* for the Business Historical Society and the Harvard School of Business. There are six articles, including one on American Treasure and Andalusian Prices, 1503-1660, by Dr. Earl J. Hamilton of

Duke University; one on Recent Work on the Economic History of Ancient Rome by Professor Tenney Frank; and one on Thomas Hancock, Colonial Merchant, by Mr. Edward Edelman. There is a section on "Notes and Documents" to which Professor E. F. Gay, the editor, contributes. New books are listed but not reviewed.

The October *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society contains a brief account of the Illuminated Log of the Good Ship *Crown Point*, making a voyage to East India in the early 'sixties.

The London School of Economics and Political Science plans to publish in 1929 *A London Bibliography of the Social Sciences*, being the subject catalogue of the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the school (a collection which includes 500,000 volumes and 250,000 pamphlets), "the Goldsmiths' Library of Economic Literature at the University of London, the Libraries of the Royal Statistical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute, and certain special collections at University College, London, and elsewhere". An important feature will be the cataloguing under their subjects of nearly all the official publications of all the important countries of the world. The publication will be in four volumes, containing about 5000 pages. The subscription price before May 1 is set at five guineas; after May 1 the price will be raised.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute for Historical Research (November) contains an account of the Oslo Congress, by Professor Pollard, and of the Anglo-American Historical Congress of last July. The series of discussions on the Early Records of the English Parliament is continued by H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, for the English parliaments of Edward II. There is another instalment of the poem on Bishop Gardiner, and there are five summaries of theses, *viz.*: Women in the Textile Industries and Trade of Fifteenth Century England, by Marian K. Dale; Italian Financiers of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries with special reference to Pallavicino and Spinola, by Bertha Hall; the Relation of Church and State with special reference to the growth of religious toleration in England under James I., 1603-1616, by Phyllis Doyle; the Relations of the British Government in India with the Indian States, 1813-1823, by M. S. Mehta; the History of the General Strike in Britain, by Alfred Plummer.

The *Historical Outlook* for October contains an illustrated article by F. H. Hodder on Some Early Political Cartoons, and E. E. Robinson contributes a survey of the teaching of American History in English Schools and Universities; with a few noteworthy exceptions the general conditions were summed up by an English scholar, "American history and American history books are non-existent". The November number contains an article on Land Speculation and the Mexican War, by W. W. Ware.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for October W. M. Brewer writes on John B. Russwurm, "the first negro to receive a degree from an

American college"; R. W. Logan, on the Operation of the Mandate System in Africa; J. H. Johnston, on the Mohammedan Slave Trade; L. J. Greene, on Slave-holding New England and its Awakening. This number also contains the annual report of the director, and nine deeds of emancipation from Petersburg, Va., in which free negroes free other negroes from slavery.

In a pamphlet entitled *Historische Belletristik* are gathered a group of reviews of such works as the writings of Emil Ludwig and W. Hegemann, by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, W. Mommsen, H. Delbrück, and others, originally published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 54); the reviews are severely critical.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October contains the following articles: Status of Roman Catholicism in Canada (from 1759 to 1774), by W. R. Riddell; the Religious Issue in National Politics, by E. J. Byrne, tracing the prejudices in politics against the "papists" from the earliest colonial days to the present time; and Spanish Rule in the Netherlands under Philip II., by Sr. M. Constance. There is also a note on the history of the Capuchins (1528-1928) of which the first mission in this country was established early in the seventeenth century.

The July number of *Agricultural History* contains a paper by Edmund C. Burnett on the Continental Congress and Agricultural Supplies, and the second part of Miss Ellen C. Semple's study of Ancient Mediterranean Agriculture.

Current History has in the September issue a debate upon the question, Was Germany Responsible for the World War, written in the light of new evidence published since the close of the war. From the French point of view Henry de Jouvenel adopts the thesis: the War due to a German-Austrian Plot to Dominate the Balkans, while the thesis of Friederich Rosen, sustaining the German side, is: Germany the Victim of Allied Plans of Conquest and Secret Diplomacy. The October number offers a debate on Robert E. Lee: Is his Military Genius Fact or Fiction? The negative, the Confederate Leader's Failure due to Weakness of Character, is argued by Elbridge Colby; the affirmative, Lee's Achievement in Spite of Tremendous Handicaps, by Douglas S. Freeman. This issue contains also an autobiographical sketch of Stephen Raditch, the Story of my Political Life, with an introduction by Charles A. Beard on the Last Years of Stephen Raditch. The November issue has a survey, political, economic, and military, of the Ten Years after the Armistice. Political aspects are treated in three articles: J. T. Shotwell discourses upon the Effects on American Foreign Policy, H. Wickham Steed upon the Changed International Situation, and David Hunter Miller upon the Execution of the Peace Treaties. The economic phase is discussed by Bernard M. Baruch under the topic, the Consequences of the War to Industry. On the military side Gen. Tasker H. Bliss discusses the strategy of the Allies, Col. E. Requin that of the French Command, and Gen. H. J. von Kuhl that of the Central Powers.

In 1921 Dr. Isaiah Bowman published the first edition of the *New World* which was praised highly in this journal (XXVII. 568-570). Now appears a fourth edition, greatly enlarged and with more maps (257 in all), but without the photographs of the first edition. Possibly the most striking proof of the complete revision to which the book has been subjected is to be found in the bibliography (29 pages, listing only the principal references used) which contains many titles of books published since the first edition of this work. Without actually counting the titles, old and new, it seems probable that the new, that is, published since 1921, out-number the old. Although the volume has been so greatly enlarged the price is reduced (Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1928, v, 803, \$4.80).

In *An Outline History of the World* (Oxford University Press, 1928), H. A. Davies has accomplished a remarkable task. In about 120,000 words he has written an interesting and well-proportioned survey. It is intended primarily for a text-book but it will meet the need of "general readers". Social and economic history is given greater prominence than political. Scores of illustrations, 18 maps, and rather frequent quotations from sources or secondary works enhance the value of the little volume. Of course there are mistakes, but in general the work is well done.

Erik Nordenskiöld's study of the development of biology and the great figures connected with it has been translated into English by Leonard B. Eyre under the title *History of Biology*, and published by Knopf.

The West Publishing Company of St. Paul announces the publication of *A Panorama of the World's Legal Systems*, by J. H. Wigmore, in three volumes, with five hundred illustrations. It describes sixteen principal legal systems, past and present, both pictorially and by a concise narrative.

The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation, by Denis Rolleston Gwynn, is published in New York by Longmans.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Mario Govi, *L'Objetto e il Compito della Storia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, May); Sir William Ellis, *The Influence of Engineering on Civilization* (Scientific Monthly, November); Capt. George L. Caldwell, *A History of Cavalry Horses* (Cavalry Journal, October); Dumas Malone, *A Challenge to Patriots* (Virginia Quarterly Review, October); G. Dupont-Ferrier, *De Quelques Problèmes Historiques Relatifs aux "Etats Provinciaux"* (Journal des Savants, August-October); A. M. Schlesinger, *Social History and American Literature* (Yale Review, Autumn); Michel Lhéritier, *Régions Historiques: Europe Centrale, Orient Méditerranéen et Question d'Orient* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLV.); H. R. Hall, *The Caucasian Relations of the Peoples of the Sea* (Klio, XXII. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Beginning with January, 1929, the Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice (Rome) plans to publish a monthly bulletin with the title "Acta Romana", giving an account of the activities of the twenty-four institutes, schools, and academies representing twelve nations, which carry on work at Rome in archaeology and history, and including a bibliography of writings by members of the institutes and other scholars working at Rome.

The Cambridge University Press expected to publish before the end of 1928 the eighth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which begins the Roman part of the work.

In place of the antiquated edition of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* by H. Peters, the historian has now available a new, critical text prepared by the skilful hand of E. Hohl (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927, 2 vols., pp. xvi, 305, 304).

In *The Roman Legions* H. M. D. Parker begins with the reformation of Marius and traces the development to the accession of Septimius Severus (Oxford, Clarendon, 1928).

Ernst Stein has written a *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches*, vol. I. of which covers the period *Vom Römischen zum Byzantinischen Staate*, 284-476 (Vienna, Seidel, pp. xxii, 592).

An enlightening book has been written on *Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit* by Felix Stähelin, making accessible a great mass of scattered material (Basel, Schwabe, 1927, pp. 549).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Franz Cumont, *Une Nouvelle Histoire du Monde Antique* [Rostovtzeff's History of the Ancient World] (Journal des Savants, August-October); J. H. Breasted, *A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man* (Scribner's Magazine, November); R. Hennig, *Die Anfänge des Kulturellen und Handelsverkehrs in der Mittelmeerwelt* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1); E. Drioton, *La Chronologie Égyptienne* (Journal des Savants, May); P. Bosch-Gimpera, *Fragen der Chronologie der Phönizischen Kolonisation in Spanien* (Klio, XXII. 3); Hans Treidler, *Das Ionische Meer im Altertum* (ibid., 1-2); Franz Tritsch, *Die Stadtbildungen des Altertums und die Griechische Polis* (ibid.); J. Carcopino, *Les Origines de l'Hercule Romain*, I., concl. (Journal des Savants, April, May); Tenney Frank, *Recent Work on the Economic History of Ancient Rome* (Journal of Economic and Business History, November); Capt. B. H. L. Hart, *Hannibal and Rome* (Atlantic, October); Ludwig Schmidt, *Zur Kimbern- und Teutonenfrage* (Klio, XXII. 1-2); Aimé Perpillou, *La Question de Droit entre César et le Sénat, Mars 59-Janvier 49* (Revue Historique, July); H. Dessau, *Mommsen und das Monumentum Ancyranum* (Klio, XXII. 3); J. Bayet, *Les Cultes Italiens à Délos* (Journal des Savants, June); Germain Morin, *A Travers les Manuscrits de Bâle; Notices et Extraits des Plus Anciens Manuscrits Latins* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Neue Studien zu Berossos* (Klio, XXII. 1-2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Geuthner (Paris) has issued *L'Administration Civile de l'Égypte Byzantine* by Germaine Rouillard (with a preface by Charles Diehl).

The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena has been translated by Elizabeth Dawes and published by Kegan Paul. A life of Anna Comnena by Naomi Mitchison is published by Gerald Howe.

Christo M. Macri is the author of a volume entitled *Des Byzantins et des Étrangers dans Constantinople au Moyen Âge* (Paris, Guillon, 1928, pp. 120).

Edgar Prestage has edited a volume on *Chivalry*, containing nine lectures delivered at the University of London by Gollancz, Hearnshaw, and other scholars (London, Kegan Paul).

Johannes Bühler's *Ordensritter und Kirchenfürsten, nach Zeitgenössischen Quellen* in the series "Deutsche Vergangenheit" is valuable for the history of the Teutonic Knights (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag).

The Collegio S. Bonaventurae at Quaracchi, which brought out a critical and definitive edition of the works of St. Bonaventura (11 vols., folio, 1882 to 1902) and has issued two volumes of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales (1924, 1928), as well as ten volumes of the *Analecta Franciscana*, twenty volumes of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, a critical edition of the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, and other works, has undertaken a critical edition of the works of Blessed John Duns Scotus. The Ministers Provincial in this country have been active in securing the funds to make possible the completion of this work begun in 1927. The indefatigable friars also have ready the first volume of the *Sinica Franciscana*, containing the letters written by the Franciscan missionaries in China during the Middle Ages.

Longmans, Green, and Company publish an English translation by the Rev. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., of *Thomas Aquinas, his Personality and Thought*, by Martin Grabmann, of which a fifth edition has appeared in German.

Der Heilige Dominikus by Heribert Christian Scheeben (Freiburg i.B., Herder, 1927, pp. 459) is an attempt to furnish the first critical biography of its subject; unfortunately it must be used with caution.

A translation of the *Dialogue on Miracles* by Caesarius of Heisterbach is announced for the early part of the year by Routledge (London) in the Broadway Medieval Library which is edited by G. G. Coulton and Eileen Powers. In this series the first two volumes are: *The Unconquered Knight: a Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño*, by Gutierre Diaz de Gamez, translated by Joan Evans; and *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, by Johannes Herolt, translated by C. Swinton Bland. For later publication are announced the *Goodman of Paris* (*Le Ménagier de Paris*); the *Autobiography of Ousâma* (of this, another

translation by Dr. P. K. Hitti is already in press in the series, *Records of Civilization*, Columbia University); *Anecdotes from English MSS. Sermons*, translated by G. R. Owst; and *Anecdotes of Thomas of Chantimpré*, translated by B. A. Lees.

The fourth volume (1368-1377) of *Histoire de Charles V.* by R. Delachenal has been published by Auguste Picard (Paris, 1928).

The second volume of Ludwig Mohler's *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann; Funde und Forschungen* (the first volume of which appeared in 1923) is taken up with the cardinal's chief work, *In Calumniatorem Platonis Libri IV.*, the Greek text of which is now printed in complete form for the first time (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1927, pp. viii, 636); it is a publication of the Görresgesellschaft.

An able study of Medieval taxation in a restricted area is to be found in *Königszins, Königsgerecht, Königsgastung im Altsächsischen Freidingsrechte* by Heinrich Freiherr von Minnigerode (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1928, pp. 124).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carlo Rostan, *Il Cristianesimo del IV. Secolo; il Primo Appello al Braccio Secolare* (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-September); E. Caspar, *Kleine Beiträge zur Aelteren Papstgeschichte*, IV. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2); Camille Jullian, *Les Précurseurs de Clovis* (Revue de Paris, August 15); *Les Ascendants de Clovis* (ibid., September 15); Alexander Haggerty Krappe, *La Légende du Roi Théodoric* (Moyen Age, May-August); P. W. Finsterwalder, *Wege und Ziele der Irischen und Angelsächsischen Mission im Fränkischen Reich* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2); Marcel Baudot, *La Question du Pseudo-Frédégaire* (Moyen Age, May-August); R. Vári, *Die Sogannnte 'Inedita Tactica Leonis'* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVII. 3-4); A. Brackmann, *Die Politische Wirkung der Kluniazensischen Bewegung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1); W. A. Phillips, *The Papal Monarchy* (Edinburgh Review, July); Clemens Bauer, *Die Epochen der Papstfinanz* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVIII. 3); P. Kehr, *Rom und Venedig bis ins XII. Jahrhundert* (Quellen und Forschungen, XIX.); Franz Martin, *Zwei Salzburger Briefsammlungen des 12. Jahrhunderts; das Sogen.: Briefbuch Eberhards I.* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLII. 4); Franz Dölger, *Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur Byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVII. 3-4); C. H. Haskins, *The "Alchemy" ascribed to Michael Scot* (Isis, June); Helen Robbins, *A Comparison of the Effects of the Black Death on the Economic Organization of France and England* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Karl Schönenberger, *Das Bistum Basel während des Grossen Schismas, 1378-1415* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.); Stéphane Gsell, *L'Architecture Musulmane en Occident* (Journal des Savants, June).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

All who have used R. B. Mowat's *History of European Diplomacy* (two volumes of which have already been reviewed in this journal, XXVIII. 740; XXXIII. 134) will welcome the news that he has now completed the work by a volume covering the period between the middle of the fifteenth century and the point at which his earlier published volumes began (London, Arnold).

The Houghton Mifflin Company has now brought out in a single volume the *Economic History of Europe*, by M. M. Knight, H. E. Barnes, and Felix Flugel, of which the separate parts were reviewed in this journal, XXXII. 856 and XXXIII. 858.

The intellectual and religious development of Martin Luther to 1518, by Robert H. Fife, jr., is published by Macmillan under the title *Young Luther*.

Die Schweizergarde in Rom und die Schweizer in Päpstlichen Diensten, pt. I., by Robert Durrer, covers their dramatic career to the year 1527 (Lucerne, Räber, 1927, pp. xiii, 432).

The Dial Press announces the publication of a *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* by J. W. Allen.

In the series Classics of International Law the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published through the American Branch of the Oxford University Press *De Officio Hominis et Civis juxta Legem Naturalem Libri Duo*, by Samuel von Pufendorf, in two volumes (New York, 1927). Vol. I. contains a photographic reproduction of the edition of 1682, with an introduction by Walther Schücking, vol. II. a translation of the text—the first into English—by F. G. Moore, a translation of Schücking's introduction, and an index.

The Naval War College has published through the Government Printing Office *International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes*. The first "situation" concerns the doctrine of continuous voyages and is illustrated with materials from 1674 to 1920.

James Fenimore Cooper's *Gleanings in Europe* provoked bitter criticism when first published and then was forgotten. The five volumes are not included in the sets of his "complete" works. Consequently the Oxford University Press has done a real service by publishing the first, *Gleanings in Europe (France)*, edited by R. E. Spiller (New York, 1928, pp. xxxiv, 395). In this Cooper, who went abroad in 1826, records his impressions and comments on the society and events of the day. There is a modicum of grist for a student of social history.

The volume by Heinrich Schrörs on *Die Kölner Wirren, 1837: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte*, a fateful episode in European history, has been praised as an important product of German historiography (Berlin, Dümmler, 1927, pp. xx, 634).

Count Egon Caesar Corti's continuation of the history of the great European banking house has been translated by Brian and Beatrix Lunn under the title *Reign of the House of Rothschild* (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation).

As is well known to every student of recent history, Benno von Siebert, former secretary of the Russian embassy in London, published in 1921 a collection of documents dealing with Entente policy during the five years before the war. This source of first importance has been reissued as *Graf Benckendorffs Diplomatischer Schriftwechsel*, since Benckendorff as Russian ambassador to Great Britain for many years either wrote or received most of the despatches. More than a hundred new documents have been added and the whole rearranged in chronological order (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1928, 3 vols., I. [1907-1910], pp. xv, 416; II. [1911-1912], pp. xvi, 564; III. [1913-1914], pp. xii, 335).

The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe, by Agnes Headlam-Morley, is a comparative study of post-war frames of government (Oxford University Press).

In the *Pragmatic Revolt in Politics: Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State* (New York, Macmillan, 1928, pp. xvii, 540), W. Y. Elliott has produced a valuable and stimulating study. He is willing "to set all the problems of politics in their historical, their economic, and their cultural environments—instead of trying to work out a 'science of Politics' based on abstractions". His aim is "simply to run a thread of unity through the chief modern theories and experiments which are in revolt against political rationalism". His work can not be neglected with impunity by students of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Brandi, *Karl V.* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); Georg Buchwald, *Lutherana: Notizen aus Rechnungsbüchern des Thüringischen Staatsarchivs zu Weimar* (Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, XXV. 1-2); E. A. Beller, *Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627-1629* (English Historical Review, October); André Paul, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots et Wallons dans le Palatinat du Rhin* (Revue Historique, March-April); Paul Marmottan, *Lucchésini, Ambassadeur de Prusse à Paris, 1800-1801*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 3); J. Dontenville, *Napoléon, les Alliés et la Paix, 1813-1814*, I., concl. (Nouvelle Revue, September 1, 15); Vittorio Adami, *Dell'Intervento Francese in Italia nel 1848* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March); Friedrich Ley, *Frankreich und die Deutsche Revolution, 1848-1849* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Jean Luvlès, *Englands Stellung zur Rheinlandfrage während des 19. Jahrhunderts seit dem Wiener Kongress* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, VI. 6); *Unterredungen der Russischen Botschafter Saburow und Orlow mit Bismarck 1879* (Kriegsschuldfrage, September); Edmond Toutain, *Origines de l'Alliance Russe* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 4); Graf Max Montgelas, *Die Englische "Garantie" an Frankreich, April-Oktober 1905*

(Kriegsschuldfrage, October); W. L. Langer, *Russia, the Straits Question, and the Origins of the Balkan League, 1908-1912* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Veracissimus, *I Documenti Diplomatici Inglesi e la Conferenza di Algeiras* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Émile Bourgeois, *Le Problème Anglo-Allemand en 1912; Impulsions Impériales; Hésitations Britanniques* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September).

WORLD WAR

The firm of Payot announces a description of *Les Deux Batailles de la Marne, 6-11 Septembre 1914, 15-18 Juillet 1918* by Marshals Joffre and Foch, the former German Crown Prince, and General Ludendorff (Paris, 1928, pp. 192).

Heinemann (London) announces the first volume of the *Official History of the Gallipoli Campaign*, covering the period from the outbreak of the war to the middle of May, 1915.

Vol. IV. of the *Official History of the Great War*, by Brig.-Gen. Sir James E. Edmonds, covers the second half of 1915 (London, Macmillan, 1928).

Vol. IV. of *Naval Operations*, by Sir Henry Newbolt, in the History of the Great War based on Official Documents, includes the period from June, 1916, to April, 1917 (London, Longmans).

The Murmansk Venture is a full account by Maj.-Gen. Sir C. Maynard, who was in command (Hodder and Stoughton, 1928).

Italian policy in the Balkans during the period of the recent wars is set forth with authority by Alexandre de Bosdari, former minister to Bulgaria and to Greece, in a volume entitled *Delle Guerre Balcaniche, della Grande Guerra, e di Alcuni Fatti Precedenti ad esse* (Milan, Mondadori, 1928).

Among recent publications in the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War* in the French series is *Salaires et Tarifs; Conventions Collectives et Grèves; la Politique du Ministère de l'Armement et du Ministère du Travail* by William Oualid and Charles Picquenard (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1928, pp. xii, 560).

Reimar of Berlin is the publisher of Alfred von Wegerer's *Die Widerlegung der Versailler Kriegsschuldthese*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Emil Daniels, *Zur Entstehung des Weltkriegs* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); Viceadmiral Alexander Meurer, "Holland in Not" im 17. Jahrhundert und Deutschlands Lage zu Beginn des Weltkrieges; ein Geschichtlicher Vergleich (*ibid.*, October); *Bulgarischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch 1914* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); M. E. Durham, *Fresh Light on Serbia and the War* (Contemporary Review, September); *Die Amerikanischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch und zu den Ersten Vermittlungsvor-*

schlägen, concl. (Kriegsschuldfrage, September); *Bethmanns Kriegspläne* (Der Krieg, October); *Bethmann und Moltke* (*ibid.*, November); Henry O. Swindler, *The So-Called Lost Battalion* (American Mercury, November); Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, *Military Lessons of the Great War* (Foreign Affairs, October); Alfred von Wegerer, *Die Verfasser des "Rapport" zur Kriegsschuldfrage* (Kriegsschuldfrage, September).

GREAT BRITAIN

The Historical Association of Great Britain has published (London, Bell, 1928) the annual *Bulletin of Historical Literature* no. 17 (for 1927), a pamphlet of 72 pages. As usual, it lists under the appropriate headings both books and articles, frequently with brief but excellent comment.

As a reference volume to accompany a course in English literature can be recommended *What to Read in English Literature*, by J. R. Crawford (New York, Putnam, 1928, pp. xxi, 388). For each period, subject, or author there is a brief statement and a well-selected bibliography. Some chroniclers and historians are included, generally with satisfactory comment. The use of this book will increase the interest and value of the course in history.

Scholars who are cognizant of the value of the Pipe Rolls will be glad to learn that the Pipe Roll Society has under consideration the reproduction of the back-volumes that are out of print. The Society has hit upon a method by which the volumes can be reproduced at about half what it would cost to reprint them. Before undertaking the work the secretary wishes to learn how large an edition will be needed. Further information may be had from A. E. Stamp, Esq., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2, or Professor F. M. Stenton, Whitley Park Farm, Reading, England.

In the *English Historical Review* for October there is a critical estimate of J. H. Round by Professor Tait, and a cordial appreciation of H. W. C. Davis by Professor Powicke.

The *Mariner's Mirror* for October commemorates the bicentenary of the birth of Captain Cook by publishing some hitherto unpublished accounts of his death, and Bligh's notes on Cook's last voyage, as well as a portrait and other pictures connected with this voyage. The other articles are R. C. Anderson's the Royalists at Sea in 1649; L. G. C. Laughton's Gunnery, Frigates and the Line of Battle; and H. Harries's Nautical Time.

No. 3 completes the second volume of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. L. F. Salzman writes on the Legal Status of Markets (in England, especially in the thirteenth century); Z. N. Brooke, on the Effect of Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England, with an appendix showing that over one-half of Alexander III.'s decretals were addressed to England;

William Miller, on Recent Works on Greece, especially by the Greeks themselves. J. R. M. Russell contributes a short note on Lord John Russell's Despatch of Oct. 16, 1839, on the Tenure of Crown Offices in the Colonies; and D. L. Burn discusses Canada and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. In the Notes and Communications Ethel M. Hampson furnishes material for judging the effects of the Law of Settlement and Removal in Cambridgeshire, 1662-1834; E. R. Adair discusses the Law of Nations and the Common Law of England in a Study of 7 Anne Cap. 12; Harold Temperley publishes Lord Granville's Unpublished Memorandum on Foreign Policy, 1852. There is also a list of the subjects of the theses on which twenty-two Cambridge students are working.

Acton Griscom has prepared an edition of *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle*, which is published by Longmans.

R. B. Darlington has edited and the Royal Historical Society has published *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, "to which are added the extant abridgments of this work and the miracles and translation of St. Wulfstan". Here for the first time are printed the full text of the life and also of the miracles and translation. The introduction discusses the historical importance of the *Vita* and its bearing upon contemporary literature (London, 1928, pp. lii, 204).

English Ecclesiastical Studies: being Some Essays in Research in Medieval History is a collection of the studies by Rose Graham and is published by the S. P. C. K. (London).

To the April number of *Speculum* Elizabeth C. Wright contributed an article on "Common Law in Thirteenth-Century English Royal Forests". She has now, to fulfill the requirements for a thesis, reprinted the article and added an appendix of 46 pages containing material for this thesis which was omitted from the article (Philadelphia, 1928).

Thomas Stapleton's life of More was published at Douay in 1588 and has been used extensively by later writers, but is now translated into English, for the first time, by Father Philip E. Hallett under the title, *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* (London, Burns Oates).

The American Geographical Society announces the publication of *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, by G. B. Parks, with thirty-five half-tone reproductions and an introduction by J. A. Williamson.

The Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of Foreign Voyagers with other Matters relating thereto contained in the "Navigations", edited by Ernest Rhys, is the title of volumes IX. and X. of Hakluyt's Voyages (Dutton).

Five Deans, by Sidney Dark, is a study of five of the outstanding personalities in the Church of England, one from each of the last five centuries (Harcourt).

Witchcraft in Old and New England, by George Lyman Kittridge, is published by the Harvard University Press.

A Study of Elizabethan Ship Money, 1588-1603, by Ada H. Lewis (Philadelphia, 1928, pp. 116), is a doctoral dissertation which may be highly commended for its inclusiveness and excellence.

English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, by J. R. Tanner, is published in New York by the Macmillan Company.

Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1662-1679, edited by John Tanner, is to be published by Harcourt, Brace.

A Noble Rake, the Life of Charles, Fourth Lord Mohun, being a study in the historical background of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, by R. S. Forsythe, is of value to students of the period because it contains a large amount of unusual material. The notes and appendixes are almost if not quite as extensive as the text itself and correct many errors made by former writers. The biographical notes "deal exclusively with persons almost or wholly forgotten at present"; the whole is made readily accessible by an index of twenty-six pages (Harvard University Press, pp. xviii, 310).

For the *Trial of King Charles I.*, J. G. Muddiman drew largely from the newsletters and newsbooks of the day and consequently has new material to present (London, Hodge, 1928).

The Harvard University Press announces the publication on February 15 of a Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell, by W. C. Abbott.

A recent addition to the Seafarers' Library, published by Longmans, is a reprint of the famous *Cruising Voyage Round the World*, by Captain Woodes Rogers, with introduction and notes by G. E. Manwaring. This voyage lasted over three years, 1708-1711. At Juan Fernandez Alexander Selkirk was rescued and shipped as mate. The account in this book of Selkirk's adventures forms the basis for Robinson Crusoe.

In the Reprint series published by Heffer, Cambridge, England, no. 1 is *Parliamentary Logic*, by the Rt. Hon. William Gerard Hamilton [Single Speech Hamilton], with a ten-page introduction and notes by C. S. Kenny (1927, pp. xiv, 88). This book was first published in 1808 and was described as "the wickedest book in the English language". No. 2, *The Statesman*, is an ironical treatise on the art of succeeding, by Henry Taylor, Esq., with an excellent introduction of thirty pages by Harold J. Laski (1927, pp. xlv, 191). This treatise was published in 1832, but has attracted little attention. Both books are now reprinted for the first time in English, although *Parliamentary Logic* has been published twice in a German translation and once in French. Both works are well worth reading.

Volume VII. of James Greig's edition of the *Farington Diary* covering the period from June 10, 1811, to Dec. 18, 1814, is from the press of Doubleday, Doran (New York).

The Cambridge University Press has published the inaugural lecture of the summer meeting at Cambridge, England, delivered by Harold Temperley, who took as his subject "The Victorian Age in Politics, War, and Diplomacy".

The life of the wife of Lord Beaconsfield, *Mary Ann Disraeli*, by James Sykes, is published by Appleton.

Gladstone and Palmerston, being the correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1851-1865, edited with an introduction and commentary, by Philip Guedalla, has been published by Gollancz (London).

Lord Reading, by C. J. C. Street, is an account of Reading's career as a lawyer, member of Parliament, and Viceroy of India (New York, Stokes).

Vol. III. of the *Life of Lord Curzon*, by the Rt. Hon. Earl of Ronaldshay, has been published by Benn (London).

Memoirs and Reflections, 1852-1927, by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, supplements his *Fifty Years of Parliament*. The second volume is mainly concerned with the war and adds something to our knowledge of conditions in England (London, Cassell, 2 vols., 1928).

The Oxford University Press announces the publication of the *Collected Papers of Sir Paul Vinogradoff*, with a memoir by H. A. L. Fisher.

Lord Morley's *Memorandum on Resignation, July, 1914* (New York, Macmillan, pp. 39), published by his nephew, with an introduction by Mr. F. W. Hirst, is a powerful picture of the author's mental anguish at the prospect of England's entry into a European war on behalf of France (not of Belgium) as a consequence of past policy—a course which his conscience did not permit him to sanction by remaining in the Cabinet. His very careful record of the split in the Cabinet is all the more valuable since so little authentic material has been published showing how Sir Edward Grey's group managed eventually to swing a Cabinet, nearly equally divided at first, into approval of war, in spite of the resignation of two men of such influence as Mr. John Burns and Lord Morley. The complete Memorandum, without Mr. Hirst's introduction, was also published in *The New Republic* of October 10, 1928.

The first instalment of Lord Sandhurst's diary, *From Day to Day, 1914-1915*, has been published by Arnold (London).

Sir J. A. R. Marriott has written a very useful little book *How England is Governed* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 112). It is clear and interesting and has an adequate index. It is intended as an introduction to Marriott's *English Political Constitutions and Mechanism of the Modern State*, but can be read with profit without reference to the larger works.

To the *Bulletin* of the Board of Celtic Studies for May (vol. IV., pt. II.) E. A. Lewis contributed a transcript, from the *Rotulus* in the Public Record Office, of the Proceedings of the Small Hundred Court of the

Commote of Ardudwy in the County of Merioneth from Oct. 8, 1325, to Sept. 18, 1326 (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board).

Vol. III. of the *History of Durham*, in the Victoria History of the Counties of England, edited by William Page, has been published by the St. Catherine Press (London).

Articles in the March number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* are: Some New Documentary Evidence concerning the Foundation of Melbourne, edited by A. W. Greig; Early Days in South-Western Victoria, by Miss Grace Tyers; and the Aboriginal Protectorate of Port Phillip, a report of an expedition to the aboriginal tribes of the western interior, March to August, 1841, by the Chief Protector, George Augustus Robinson, with an introduction by A. S. Kenyon.

In the Smith College Studies in History, volume XIII., nos. 1 to 3, October, 1927–April, 1928, is a very well-written account of *Captain Hobson and the New Zealand Company*, a study in colonial administration, by J. C. Beaglehole.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, William III., Jan. 1–Dec. 31, 1697 (1927); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. XXI., pt. 2, June, 1586–March, 1587 (1927).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. L. Kingsford, *Beginnings of English Maritime Enterprise*, concl. (History, October); Ann Deeley, *Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, October); Hugh Gunn, *Captain James Cook, R. N.: the Greatest of Navigators and Ocean Explorers* (United Empire, October); W. T. Laprade, *The Power of the English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October).

FRANCE

General reviews: Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (Revue Historique, March–April); H. Prentout, *Rapport sur le Mouvement Historique en Normandie* (Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, XXXVII.).

Professor Charles Guignebert's lectures which he delivered to American scholars at the Sorbonne in 1919 have been translated by F. G. Richmond and published by Macmillan, in two volumes, with the title *A Short History of the French People*.

Longmans has published an English translation by C. B. Chase of Louis Bertrand's *Louis XIV., the Sun King* (New York, 1928, pp. ix, 366). The distinguished novelist believed that previous writers had done abominable injustice to his hero, whom he himself regarded as "the great Frenchman of all times". His work reads like a romance instead of serious history, but Bertrand insisted upon its historical veracity and re-

proached previous historians for their biased and inaccurate accounts. For an historian's criticism of Bertrand see G. Pagès in *Revue Historique*, CLII, 66.

Vol. V. of Marcel Marion's notable *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* bears the subtitle *Les Gouvernements de Suffrage Restreint et les Gouvernements de Suffrage Universel à Tendances Conservatrices*, covering the years 1819-1875 (Paris, Rousseau, 1928, pp. 600).

Students of the distribution of land among the various classes of French society prior to the Revolution will find in the March-April number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* a discriminating review by M. G. Lefebvre of the present state of researches. At the close he gives a statistical table compiled from the results of those who have investigated the situation in different regions. He finds that scholars have neglected too much the element of cultivation as distinguished from ownership. The fact that the *domaine proche* of the lords was actually farmed by peasants as renters explains why the idea of an agrarian revolution accompanied by expropriation of the larger holders of land had few partisans in Revolutionary France. A plan of this kind would dispossess too many humble renters. Of course, when the church lands were put on the market, peasants did not resist the temptation to buy, but there was no pronounced movement in favor of expropriation of the lords. Their lands were seized only if they emigrated.

One of France's great colonial soldiers, *Le Maréchal de Saint-Arnaud*, is to have a biography by Maurice Quatrelles l'Épine; vol. I. deals with his youth and the conquest of Algeria, 1798-1850 (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 504).

We are glad to be able to state that the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, which was compelled for financial reasons to suspend publication in December, 1926, is to continue its work. With the January, 1929, issue it becomes a monthly instead of as formerly a bi-monthly publication. Each issue will contain sixty-four pages. The annual subscription (124 francs for the United States) may be sent to M. Édouard Driault, 3, Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles.

There is always interest in a new book by Louis Madelin, whose latest publication is *Les Hommes de la Révolution* (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 324).

The *Hand Book of Napoleon Bonaparte*, by I. L. Sjöström, contains a chronological list of the principal events in his career, five descriptions of his personal appearance by actual observers, about four hundred notes on persons, places, and events connected with his career, and a map to illustrate his activities (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1928, pp. 145).

The church's attitude is voiced by the Abbé G. Constant in his history of *L'Église de France sous le Consulat et l'Empire, 1800-1814* (Paris, Gabalda, 1928, pp. xxix, 396).

For the collection *Figures du Passé*, Ferdinand Bac has written *La Princesse Mathilde, sa Vie et ses Amis* (Paris, Hachette, 1928). This Mathilde (1820-1904) was the daughter of Jerome Bonaparte. The larger portion of the book is concerned with her life at Paris, and her friends, who included Merimée, Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Flaubert, and other men of letters.

The Third Republic, by Raymond Recouly, has been translated by G. F. Buckley and is published by Heinemann (London). This work is a part of the *National History of France* of which Funck-Brentano is the editor. A large part of the volume is devoted to the foreign and colonial policy of the republic.

M. Raymond Poincaré continues his memoirs, *Au Service de la France* with vol. V., *L'Invasion* (Paris, Plon, 1928).

A regional study, doubtless affording materials for history of a larger sort, is Alfred Coville's *Recherches sur l'Histoire de Lyon du V^e Siècle au IX^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1928, pp. 560).

The French Foreign and Colonial Policies since the War, by Parker T. Moon, will be included in the Columbia University series of Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France, which will also contain William F. Ogburn's *Development of French Industry, 1918-1928*; Lindsay Rogers's *French Government and its Functioning since the War*; and Robert M. Haig's *History of French Public Finance since the War*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lucien Febvre, *L'École Géographique Française et son Effort de Synthèse* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLV.); J. Calmette, *Louis XI.* (*Journal des Savants*, July); S. Solente, *Les Manuscrits des Dupuy à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, July-December, 1927); Maximin Deloche, *Les Vraies Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); J. J. Jusserand, *Le Maréchal d'Estrades et ses Critiques* (*Revue Historique*, July); G. Charvin, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint Maur* [composée par Dom Martene] (*Archives de la France Monastique*, XXXI.); Maurice Besson, *La Police des Noirs sous Louis XVI. en France* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, July); Albert Mathiez, *La Constitution de 1793* (*Revue de Paris*, July 15); G. Lenôtre, *Georges Cadoudal*, I.-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1-November 1); Albert Mathiez, *Le Premier Comité de Salut Public et la Guerre* (*Revue Historique*, July); Jean Lhéritier, *Robespierre ou le "Saint" de la Démocratie* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); Caulaincourt, *Mémoires: en Traîneau avec l'Empereur* [1812] I.—concl. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 15, August 15, September 1, 15); Édouard Driault, *Napoléon et les Juifs* [review] (*Revue Historique*, July); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Histoire d'un Historien; Amédée Thierry*, I., II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 15, November 1); Comtesse des Garets, *La Mort du Prince Impérial* (*Revue de Paris*, October 15); Robert Dreyfus, *M. Thiers et la Révolution du 4 Septembre* (*ibid.*, Sep-

tember 1); Gabriel Hanotaux, *L'Oeuvre Coloniale de la Troisième République* (*ibid.*, August 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The Società Ligure di Storia Patria has published two new volumes, LV. and LVI. of the *Atti* of the society. Volume LV., entitled *La Moneta Genovese in Confronto con le Altre Valute Mediterranee nei Secoli XII. e XIII.*, is by Pier Francesco Casaretto, who died before the completion of the work, which has been completed with copious and valuable comment by Francesco Poggi, the secretary of the society. Volume LVI., entitled *Iscrizioni Genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli*, contains two studies: *Inscriptions Latines des Colonies Génoises en Crimée (Théodosie, Soudak, Balaklava)* by Elena Skrzinska of Leningrad, who began her studies in this field with Professor A. A. Vasiliev, now of the University of Wisconsin, and *Le Lapidi Genovesi delle Mura di Galata* by Ettore Rossi; both illustrated with many cuts, preceded by an introduction by Luigi Volpicella, director of the Genoese archives; these studies are of archaeological importance and of great interest to students of the history of Genoese colonial activity in the Black Sea region.

To the Landmarks of History series Ferdinand Schevill has contributed the *First Century of Italian Humanism* (New York, Crofts, 1928, pp. 88).

The third volume of the Cavour Papers, *Il Carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861*, has been published by Zanichelli (Bologna).

My Autobiography, by Benito Mussolini (New York, Scribner), has a foreword by Richard Washburn Child.

The Princeton University Press announces the publication of the *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III. of Aragon*, by Bernat Desclot, translated by F. L. Critchlow.

An *Histoire du Portugal* has been written by Théodoric Legrand on the same lines as Ballester's *Histoire de l'Espagne*, noticed in the last number of this journal. The book covers the period from the eleventh century to the founding of the republic in 1910; it contains an adequate bibliography, of especial value inasmuch as there has been hitherto no modern bibliography in this field (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 175).

The *Chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara*, edited by Edgar Prestage, contains an excellent translation of some of the best passages of each author. It is hard to explain why the vivid dramatic descriptions of Lopes were so long neglected, why no trustworthy edition of any part of his chronicle was published until 1915 (Watford, Voss and Michael, 1928).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Antonio Fradeletto, *Venezia Antica e Italia Moderna* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Annibale

Gabrielli, *Intorno a Cola di Rienzo: le Lettere e la "Vita"* (ibid., June 1); Baldo Peroni, *La Politica Scolastica dei Principi Riformatori in Italia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, May); Michele Scherillo, *Una Gran Dama del Rinascimento: Elisabetta Gonzaga Duchessa di Urbino* (Nuova Antologia, August 1); Louise Murat-Rasponi, *À la Cour du Roi Murat* (Revue de Paris, October 1); *La Fin du Royaume de Murat* (ibid., October 15); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie, III.: l'Oeuvre Militaire* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 4); Aldo Ferrari, *Fatti e Figure della Terza Italia: il Trasformismo, 1881-1892* (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-September); Paul Herre, *Giolitti* (Kriegsschuldfrage, August).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

In *Herrschergestalten des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Karl Hampe has brought together in popular form a number of studies, some of which have been previously published (Leipzig, Quelle, 1927, pp. 399).

The book on *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* by Ernst Kantorowicz (Berlin, Bondi, 1927, pp. 651) is pronounced a learned and very exhaustive monograph on the great Hohenstaufen.

Pt. I., vol. VI., of *Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, by Edmund E. Stengel, *Avignon und Rhens, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Kampfes um das Recht am Reich in der Ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* is announced to be in preparation. Pt. II. by K. Heldmann, *Das Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, was published in May, 1928 (Weimar, Böhlau).

The interesting relations between Hohenzollern and Hapsburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century are described by Dr. Arnold Berney in his *König Friedrich I. und das Haus Hapsburg, 1701-1707* (Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1928).

Hugh Quigley and R. T. Clark have brought out, through Dodd, Mead, a study of the adjustment and reorganization of Germany's political and economic situation since the Treaty of Versailles, entitled, *Republican Germany*.

Danzig, Polen und der Völkerbund (Berlin, Georg Stilke), by Hans Adolf Harder, is a scholarly and well-documented study of the vicissitudes of the German city of Danzig since 1919. Writing with the aid of the Hamburg Foreign Policy Institute and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the author shows how Danzig, nominally under the League of Nations and subject in some respects to Poland, has in reality been subjected to considerable Polish pressure.

"Orbis" of Prague has issued a valuable bibliographical aid: *Publikace o Československu v Cizích Jazycích* (Publications on Czecho-

slovakia in Foreign Languages). While the lists are gathered uncritically, yet the trivial is much outweighed by the serious and important (pp. 146).

Jaroslav Papoušek's *Czechoslovak Nation's Struggle for Independence* (Prague, "Orbis", 1928) gives briefly a study of the events of 1914-1918, supplementing in certain points the greater works of Beneš and Masaryk.

"Orbis" (Prague, 1928) has just published *The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Rise of the Czechoslovak State*, by Dr. Jan Opočensky, which is invaluable for a study of the details of this transition and an understanding of the foundations of Czechoslovakia.

A hitherto unpublished correspondence of the great Austrian chancellor is contained in *Metternich in Neuer Beleuchtung und sein Geheimer Briefwechsel mit dem Bayerischen Staatsminister Wrede*, by Victor Bibl (Vienna, Seidel, 1928, pp. 439).

Professor Joseph Redlich's *Biography of Francis Joseph of Austria* has been translated and was announced for publication by Macmillan before the end of 1928.

A comprehensive picture of life in a Medieval Swiss town is given by Paul Aeschbacher in an article of over 120 pages entitled "Die Stadt Nidau im Mittelalter" (*Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XXIX. 2); with the addition of a second part it will be published as a monograph under the title *Die Landvogtei Nidau*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Guido Manacorda, *Il Paganesimo degli Antichi Germani* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1); F. Blanke, *Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission, 1206-1274* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLVII. 1); L. Quidde, *Die Deutschen Reichstagsakten: Aeltere Reihe* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIX. 1); Arnold Berney, *Der Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1702-1704* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 3); Wilhelm Mommsen, *Zur Beurteilung der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVIII. 3); Hans von Dallwitz, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen*, I. (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, October); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, III., IV. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, June 1); Kurt Jagow, *Der Potsdamer Kronrat* (*Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, August); A. Soulange-Bodin, *Max de Bade, Dernier Chancelier de Guillaume II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1); Edgar A. Mowrer, *Germany after Ten Years* (*Harper's Magazine*, December); Gerhard Ritter, *Die Neue Ranke-Ausgabe* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIX. 1); Oskar von Wertheimer, *Der Schriftsteller Emil Ludwig* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, VI. 2-3); Gustav Peters, *Die Entstehung der Tschechoslowakei: Kritische Betrachtungen zu Beneš' "Der Weltkrieg und unsere Revolution"* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, July); F. Clément-Simon, *La Résurrection d'un Peuple: la Tchécoslovaquie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1); Eduard von Wertheimer, *Der Kampf um Metternich* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, June); E. Kittel, *Metternichs Politische Grundanschauungen* (*Historische Vier-*

teljahrschrift, XXIV. 3); *Baron Philipp von Neumann, Austrian Diplomatist, 1819-1850* (Century, August); Karl Schwarber, *Die Schweizerische Geschichtschreibung im 18. Jahrhundert und der Nationale Gedanke* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Yale University Press has published in its series Economic and Social History of the World War, *The Netherlands and the World War: Studies in the War History of a Neutral*, vol. III., *The Effect of the War upon the Colonies*, by J. H. C. Alting, formerly member of the Council of Netherlands India, and W. de C. Buning, trade commissioner for the Netherlands East Indies. This volume is devoted mainly to the Netherlands East Indies, and, as the names of the authors suggest, is a valuable survey. To the relatively less important Netherlands West Indies only half a dozen pages are given.

The late Henri Vuilleumier, who for fifty-five years taught Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis at the University of Lausanne, concerned himself likewise with the history of his church. A substantial result of his labors is seen in the *Histoire de l'Église Réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le Régime Bernois*, vol. I., *L'Age de la Réforme* (Lausanne, Imprimerie de la Concorde, 1927, pp. xxvi, 781). Three more volumes will follow.

A. Laveille's life of Cardinal Mercier has been translated into English by Arthur Livingstone and published by the Century Company.

Noteworthy article in periodical: P. Geyl, *Einheit und Entzweiung in den Niederlanden* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Gunnar Höst, *Histoire de Norvège* (Revue Historique, July); bibliography of works on Norwegian history published in 1926 (*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1928, 28, 3); Karl Völker, *Zur Kirchengeschichte Polens* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2).

The *Historisk Tidsskrift* is publishing as a supplement *Scandia, Tidsskrift för Historisk Forskning*; the first number appeared in February, 1928, and contained among others an interesting article by Lauritz Weibull on "Stockholms Blodbad" (Oslo, Gyldendal, 1928).

A brilliant volume of *Mélanges*, containing twenty-nine studies in Danish history, covering all periods from ancient to modern, appears under the title *Festskrift til Kristian Erslev, den 28 Decbr. 1927, fra Danske Historikere* (Copenhagen, Hagerup, pp. 701).

La Politique Russe d'avant Guerre et la Fin de l'Empire des Tsars, 1904-1917, Mémoires du Baron M. de Taube, is important for its account of the relations between Germany and Russia, and for its character sketches of important persons, notably Sazonov and Izvolski. The author

had exceptional opportunities and claimed to be impartial, even in his discussion of the problem of war guilt (Paris, Leroux).

For those interested in Russian history and able to read the Russian language, a very valuable tool is afforded in the bibliography published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas, under the title *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Sowjet-Russland, 1917-1927* (Berlin, Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1928, pp. 192). Most of the several thousand titles are unknown outside of Russia; they are here given in Russian and in German.

La Campagne Polono-Russe de 1920 has been told from the Polish side by General L. Sikorski, former premier and chief of staff of the Polish army; the French translation is by Commandant Larcher (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 420).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Richard Lodge, *Treaty of Abo and the Swedish Succession* (English Historical Review, October); Jacques de Coussange, *Encore le Journal de Fersen* (Mercure de France, June 1); S. A. Pervushin, *Cyclical Fluctuations in Agriculture and Industry in Russia, 1869-1926* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, August); *Sasonows Irrtum* (Der Krieg, September); Boris Cederholm, *Dans les Prisons de l'U. R. S. S., 1924-1926*, I.-III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1, 15, November 1).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque, 1925-1926* (Revue Historique, March-April); see also Miller (Cambridge Historical Journal, no. 3).

A thoughtful and able study has been made of *Krieg und Verwaltung in Serbien und Mazedonien, 1916-1918*, by Paul Kirch (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. 179).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Nationalist Crusade in Syria, by Elizabeth P. MacCallum (New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1928, pp. xiii, 299), is a "tentative account" of the rebellion in Syria, 1925-1927. It would be possible to indicate some points on which fuller information could have been given, which might have influenced the opinions of a reader; but this book is probably as accurate and impartial a statement as can be made with the material accessible at present.

The Columbia University Press announces among its forthcoming publications a work by Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*.

Turks and Afghans is the title of the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, published by the Cambridge University Press, and covers the period from the first invasions of the Moslems to the establishment of Bābur at Delhi.

General Jullian is author of *Souvenirs de l'Expédition de Chine, 1900-1902* (Paris, Peyronnet, 1928).

Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary, Sun-Yat-Sen, giving an account of the Chinese Revolution and an analysis of the character of the Chinese people, has been published in Philadelphia by McKay.

China's Millions, by Anna L. Strong, is a history of the events in China in 1927 when the Nationalist party split into conservative and radical groups (New York, Howard-McCann).

In November Allen and Unwin published *Japan under Tai-sho-Tenno, 1912-1926*, by A. Morgan Young, long time editor of the *Japan Chronicle*.

Japan and the United States, 1853-1921, by Payson J. Treat (see *Review*, XXVIII. 336), has been revised and continued to 1928 (Stanford University Press, 1928, pp. ix, 307). Two chapters are added: the Washington Conference and After, and the Japanese in America; also three maps, which were especially prepared for Treat's *The Far East*, have been included. The author states, "in revising these pages seven years after they were written, I find that I need make few changes in the opinions then expressed". Japan by her acts has justified his favorable forecast.

Volume X. of the Yale Historical Publications and Edited Texts is the *Documents of Iriki*, edited by K. Asakawa.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Friedrich Rosen, *Die Entstehung des Afghanischen Staates* (Preussische Jahrbücher, May); Henri Valentino, *Le Voyage d'un Pèlerin Chinois dans l'Inde des Bouddhas* (Nouvelle Revue, June 1-November 1); Elias Hurwicz, *Das Problem der Mandschurei* (Europäische Gespräche, September).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November, 1928, vol. XXXII., no. 11, contains a list of references for the history of Egypt from the Muhammadan invasion to the present time, and includes over 800 titles of material in the Library.

In November Constable published *Arabia of the Wahhabis* in which H. St. J. Philby recounts the events of the last period of his mission to Ibn-Sa'oud in 1918.

Tournier (Tunis) and Vuibert (Paris) have issued *Annales Tripolitaines* by L.-Charles Féraud with an introduction by Augustin Bernard (1928).

André Lebon, author of several monographs on French colonial history, now offers an account of *La Pacification de Madagascar, 1896-1898*, with thirteen unpublished letters from General Gallieni to the Minister of the Colonies (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 308).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Camille Jullian, *L'Afrique Libre sous ses Rois Indigènes* (Journal des Savants, May); J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *Les Établissements de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, 1763-1870, d'après les "Instructions" aux Gouverneurs* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, April-June); C. A. Le Neven, *France and Italy in North Africa* (Foreign Affairs, October); Ch. Monchicourt, *Notice sur Tunes et Biographie du Bach Mamelouk Hassine de Louis Calligaris* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, September).

AMERICA

General review: Richmond Lennox, *Americana* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1).

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: Levinus Clarkson and William Neate, letters to each other and to David Van Horne, 1772-1775, 1787; Loyalist muster rolls, 1775-1783, from Ottawa; Duff Green, correspondence, 1813-1873, and letter-book, 1827-1830; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speeches and miscellany, 1815-1900, seven volumes; John Sessford, record books relating to buildings and improvements in the District of Columbia, 1818-1850; Burton N. Harrison, correspondence, 1822-1903; Orren Randolph Smith, scrapbooks and papers mostly relating to the Confederacy, 1846-1913; Orlando Metcalfe Poe, correspondence, 1861-1864; Colonel Christopher ("Kit") Carson, letter-book during Navajo Expedition, 1863-1864; Francis Burton Harrison, additional Philippine papers, 1913-1914.

The first volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, prepared under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, and edited by Dr. Allen Johnson, was published in October by Charles Scribner's Sons. It will, of course, be reviewed in this journal.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1927, contains a paper by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert on East Florida as a Refuge of Southern Loyalists, 1774-1785, and a long one by Mr. George W. Cole on Lewis Hughes, early minister in the Bermudas, and his printed works.

The June number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society contains a paper of monographic extent, by Rev. Eugene F. J. Maier, on Mathew Carey, Publicist and Politician (1760-1839). As a publisher in Philadelphia for many years and founder of the publishing firm which in quite recent times bore the name of his grandson, Henry C. Lea, the historian, Carey has not been unknown. Some of the productions of his pen, such as the *Olive Branch*, are political classics; but the extent of his pamphleteering and other political activities is perhaps but obscurely known in our day. In the same number of the *Records* is an article by Elizabeth S. Kite entitled the Continental Congress and France: Secret Aid and the Alliance, 1776-1778, a resumé of the preliminaries of the alliance, a field in which Miss Kite has produced note-

worthy studies. The September number has a biographical account, by Rev. James A. Farrell, of Thomas FitzSimons, Catholic Signer of the American Constitution; an account, by Martin I. J. Griffin, jr., of the trial and execution in New York in 1741 of John Ury; and a study, by Rev. Thomas P. O'Rourke, of the *Memorial* of Fray Alonso de Benavides.

Ginn and Company has published *History of the Americas* (Boston, 1928, pp. xxii, 314), a syllabus for the course which Professor H. E. Bolton has given for several years at the University of California. This course "presents a general survey of the history of the Western Hemisphere from the discovery to the present time", "in which the United States is put in a new setting". Of the sixty lectures nearly half deal with Latin America. There are almost one hundred maps, "many of which are original and not to be found elsewhere", and there is a well-selected list of references for each lecture.

Recent Gains in American Civilization is made up of fifteen worth while essays "by a group of distinguished critics of contemporary life", and edited by Kirby Page. The names of the contributors whet our curiosity: O. G. Villard writes on the Bright Side of the American Press. C. A. Beard on Recent Gains in Government, H. E. Fosdick on Recent Gains in Religion, Norman Thomas on Advances in the Quest for Peace. What Professor H. F. Ward says in his essay on Progress or Decadence? applies to these as to others, "they give an impression of having had heavy going". John Dewey gives a Critique of American Civilization, and Masaharu Anesaki an Oriental Evaluation of Modern Civilization. Others whose contributions are omitted in this brief notice contribute to the kaleidoscopic picture.

R. F. Nichols and J. P. Boyd have published through the University of Pennsylvania Press a *Syllabus for the Social and Economic History of the United States*.

The Johns Hopkins Press has published a revised and enlarged edition of the *Working Manual of Original Sources in American Government*, by Milton Conover, which was noted in these columns (vol. XXX., 434). The manual has been used widely, and for this edition the editor notes in his preface that he has profited by the advice of ex-President A. T. Hadley, Albert Bushnell Hart, and especially John Bassett Moore, "who contributed the supplement to chapter III." (Baltimore, 1928, pp. ix, 167).

The University of Pennsylvania Press has brought out *American Diplomacy in the Modern World*, by Arthur Bullard.

The Constitution of the United States in some of its Fundamental Aspects (Harvard University Press, 1928) is composed of the first series of Bacon Lectures given at Boston University in 1927, by G. G. Bacon. It gives a clear, concise, conservative view of the formation and functioning of the Constitution.

State and Federal Corrupt-Practices Legislation, by Earl R. Sikes (Duke University Press, 1928), is a valuable doctoral dissertation in which the author makes a survey of the legislation which has been enacted and of the construction placed on the statutes by judicial interpretation.

Bulletin No. 21 of the Carnegie Foundation, *The Present Day Law Schools in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1928), gives in the introduction a brief historical review of the requirements for legal training in the United States from colonial days to the present time.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has brought out a volume by John G. Hervey on the *Legal Effects of Recognition in the International Law as Interpreted by the Courts of the United States*.

Messrs. Kegan Paul (London) announce in the series History of Civilization the *American Indian Frontier*, by W. Christie Macleod, giving the history of the frontier from the Indian angle.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Joutel's *Journal Historique du Dernier Voyage de M. de la Salle* is published in an edition annotated by E. Netgé (Paris, Genet, 1928, 2 vols.).

A biography of Cotton Mather from the psychological point of view, by R. P. and L. S. Boas, has been published by Harper under the title, *Cotton Mather, Keeper of the Puritan Conscience*.

Forgotten Ladies, by Richardson L. Wright, contains the portraits of Deborah Sampson, Maria Monk, Sarah J. Hale, and others (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Robert W. Neeser, author of the *Statistical and Chronological History of the United States Navy* (see XIV. 831), and of the *Letters and Papers relating to the Cruises of Gustavus Conyngham* (see XXI. 156), was recently elected to the Académie de Marine, and chose for his initial communication "Les Croisières du Capitaine Conyngham". This interesting paper has now been published by the Académie, in vol. VII., pp. 327-357.

The Military Journal of George Ewing (1754-1824), a Soldier of Valley Forge, has been edited and privately published by Thomas Ewing (Yonkers, N. Y., 1928, pp. 54). The editorial work on this interesting journal has been done with great care, and three maps have been added to illustrate the text.

The Making of the Constitution, by Charles Warren (Boston, Little, Brown), contains contemporary material relating to the making of our Constitution, together with the political history of each important clause.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has published a new edition of Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, with additions and revisions to 1928, by C. K. Bolton (Boston, 1928, pp. xviii, 586, 543). In the body of the

work there are few changes from the preceding edition (reviewed XXII. 677-679) except for a considerable number of corrections. The appendix is expanded to include the platforms and candidates of the various parties for 1920, 1924, and 1928.

The tenth edition of D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the United States* has been brought out by Longmans.

The American Whaleman, by E. P. Hohman, is a study of life and labor in the whaling industry, compiled from hitherto unused sources (Longmans).

Jefferson, Friend of France, by Meade Minnigerode, is announced by Putnam.

A history of American railroads from their beginnings down to the present development, by John W. Starr, jr., is published by Dodd under the title *One Hundred Years of American Railroad*ing.

The larger part of vol. III. of *Studies and Records of the Norwegian-American Historical Association* (Northfield, Minn., 1928, pp. 133) is composed of interesting letters written between 1838 and 1864, setting forth the advantages and disadvantages of emigration to the United States. There are also three articles, one a plea for the preservation of church records, by J. M. Rohne, the second an account of the experiences of Ole S. Gjerset, who settled in Minnesota in 1871, by Knut Gjerset, and the last a survey of Icelandic communities in America, by Thorstina Jackson.

Frank A. Golder has written the story of 500 Mormons who enlisted in the army during the Mexican War, from material taken from the diary of Henry Standage, which the Century Company has published under the title the *March of the Mormon Battalion*.

A lecture delivered at Oxford last May by George Haven Putnam has been published by the Clarendon Press under the title *Abraham Lincoln, the Great Captain, Personal Reminiscences by a Veteran of the Civil War*.

A collection of despatches, written for the *Paris Temps* by Georges E. B. Clemenceau, has been edited by Fernand Baldensperger and translated by Margaret MacVeagh under the title *American Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (New York, Dial Press).

An Outline History of the Missouri Pacific, by John L. Kerr, is published in New York by the New York Railway Research Society.

The International Publishers announce the publication of a study of the *Molly Maguires*, by Anthony Bimba.

Paxson's *Recent History of the United States* (Boston, Houghton, 1928, pp. xi, 665, xvi) is both "a revised and enlarged edition" of the original work published in 1921 (reviewed XXVII. 594). Chapters are added for the period from the Civil War to 1877, and in the last chapters

additions have been inserted to bring the story down to 1928. The material is rearranged into fewer chapters, and in some cases a changed emphasis has been given. The bibliographies also have been brought up to date.

The Life of Isaiah V. Williamson, Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist, is by the late John Wanamaker (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Robert H. Fuller has written a life of James Fisk, jr., entitled *Jubilee Jim* (Macmillan).

Charles W. Eliot, Puritan Liberal, by Henry H. Saunderson, is an interpretation of the life of the late president of Harvard from its spiritual background (Harper).

The Chicago University Press announces, among its winter publications, the life of the first president of the university, *William Rainey Harper*, by Thomas W. Goodspeed.

McGraw-Hill Company announce the publication of a three-volume edition of Victor Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States*, previously published by the Carnegie Institution in two volumes (1916, 1927), both of which are now out of print. The new edition will contain one or two additional chapters on manufactures during the war.

William Allen White has published a series of character studies of the presidents of the United States from Harrison to Coolidge under the title *Masks in a Pageant* (Macmillan).

The Life of John W. Weeks, by Charles G. Washburn, published by Houghton Mifflin, has an introduction by Calvin Coolidge.

John A. Russell has brought out through the Stratford Press a biography of *Joseph Warren Fordney*, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and author of the Fordney tariff (Boston).

Long Lance is an interesting account of the life and customs of the Blackfeet Indians in the Far Northwest. The author, Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, relates the experiences of his boyhood when his tribe was still composed of "fighting Nomads", having their first contacts with the whites. No one could have been better fitted for the undertaking, and his book is a distinct contribution to our knowledge (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928, pp. 278).

Adolf Hasenclever's article on *Theodore Roosevelt und die Marokkokrisis von 1904-1906: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Beziehungen vor dem Weltkriege*, which appeared in the *Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, 1928, heft 2/3, has been reprinted in a manuscript of 62 pages.

A second edition of a *Brief History of Relations between United States and Nicaragua, 1909-1928*, was published by the State Department in September, and may be procured from the superintendent of documents, Washington, for 15 cents.

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ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

With the October number the *New England Quarterly* completes its first volume. It has been successful in obtaining interesting and valuable articles and excellent reviewers. It has made a place for itself, and with each issue the desirability of such a journal is demonstrated anew. The articles in the October number are: Cullen Bryant at Williams College, by Tremaine McDowell; Puritan Names, by D. K. Dodge; pt. II. of Joel Shepard Goes to the War, edited by J. A. Spear; Michael Wigglesworth, a Puritan Artist, by F. O. Matthiessen; Some Account of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, by R. W. Hale; Phippius Maximus [Sir William Phips], by V. F. Barnès; a Blue Bluejacket's Letters Home, 1863-1864, edited by A. M. Schlesinger. This number also contains a bibliography of articles on the history of New England in periodical publications, November, 1927-July, 1928.

The Marine Research Society has brought out *The Sailing Ships of New England*, series three, by George Francis Dow.

The October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by William A. Pew on the Worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Governor of Massachusetts. Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates, by Gardner W. Allen, and Marblehead's Foreign Commerce, 1789-1850, by the late Francis B. C. Bradlee, are continued. A letter of interest is from John Gardiner to Capt. Richard Derby of Salem, dated at the Inner Temple, March 19, 1762, and pertaining in part to some admiralty cases, involving New England vessels, which had just come before the Lords of Appeal.

The May-June serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a valuable article by Professor A. L. Cross on Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law, and one by Dr. Worthington C. Ford on Forged Lincoln Letters. That for October-December has papers by Colonel Charles E. Banks on Scotch Prisoners Deported to England by Cromwell, and on William Bradford and the Pilgrim Quarter in London, the latter partly controversial, with a paper by Professor Samuel E. Morison entitled, Did William Bradford Leave Leyden before the Pilgrims? Mr. Ford adds an interesting note on Washington's Map of the Ohio.

The Henry E. Huntington Library has entered into a coöperative arrangement with the Harvard University Press for the printing of a series of Huntington Library Publications. The first of these will be a reprint of the *Massachusetts General Lawes and Libertyes of 1648*, the unique copy of which is in the Huntington Collection.

Mr. Howard W. Preston has in the October number of the Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections* an article on Rhode Island and the Loyalists. There is also a note on the Relative Importance of Coddington and Clarke from 1637 to 1648.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has in the July number a paper by Peter H. Bryce, M.D., on Sir John Johnson, Baronet (1743-1830), treating in particular Johnson's career as superintendent-general of Indian affairs. Apropos of the sesquicentennial of the battle of Monmouth, which was celebrated at Freehold, New Jersey, June 28, the *Quarterly* prints two articles pertaining to the battle: one, an account of the battle by Dr. Albert Van der Veer as related to him by his grandmother, who was a witness of the contest; the other, a description of Emanuel Leutze's painting, the Battle of Monmouth, written by an unknown author many years ago.

The New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* of October contains a paper by Alexander J. Wall on the Administration of Governor Horatio Seymour during the War of the Rebellion and the Draft Riots in New York City, July 13-17, 1863, with Events leading up to them.

The contents of the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* include an extensive genealogical record, "Jan of Rotterdam" and his Descendants, compiled by Howard S. F. Randolph; the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church Records, contributed, with annotations, by William B. Cook, jr.; the concluding instalment of Mr. Randolph's contribution, the House of Truax; and several continuations.

Aside from continuations two papers principally occupy the pages of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October. They are: Pennsylvania Literature of the Colonial Period, by Nancy H. McCreary, and the English Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania, by Wayland F. Dunaway. There is also a list of Schoolmasters of Colonial Philadelphia, compiled by Robert F. Seybolt. The Hon. William R. Riddell's study, Libel on the Assembly: a Prerevolutionary Episode, is concluded.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains an article by Hon. Albert W. Johnson on the character of George Washington, one by Walter R. Fee on Colonel George Morgan at Fort Pitt, and a further instalment of Percy B. Caley's account of the Life and Adventures of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Duke University Press announces among its future publications the *Southern Frontier*, by Verner W. Crane.

The pages of the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are largely occupied with the Index to Chancery Depositions, 1668-1789 (continued from the June number), by William F. Cregar and Dr. Christopher Johnston. Some Records of Dorchester County are contributed by Louis D. Scisco. In a group of Unpublished Letters are three from Leigh Master, who, in August, 1782, had sailed from New York for New Providence and had been taken by a North Carolina

privateer and landed in South Carolina. The letters are written from Camden in January and February, 1782, to Governor Thomas Sim Lee. In the same group is a letter from two British prisoners of war in Frederick, March 15, 1782; also a petition, May 6, 1782, from Thomas Robertson, a physician.

The Catholic University has published *Political Nativism in Maryland, 1830-1860*, by Sister Mary P. McConville.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., vol. 29-30, edited by John B. Larnier (Washington, 1928), contains the following articles: Colonel William Winston Seaton and his Mayoralty, and Dr. John Frederick May, both by A. C. Clark; Founding of the Old Georgetown Market, and Recollections of our Neighbors in the First Ward in the Early 'Sixties, both by A. K. Parris; Duelling in the District of Columbia, by Myra K. Spaulding; Early Baptists in Washington, D. C., by Lucille W. Wilkinson; the Seaton Mansion, by H. E. Davis; America's Part in the Supreme War Council during the World War, by Lt.-Col. U. S. Grant, 3d; Some Reminiscences of Mrs. John M. Binckley of Early Days in Washington; and a description of the valuable Washingtoniana Collection of the Society, by Katharine K. Patten.

The *Report* of the State Library Board of Virginia has for its chief content the report of the State Librarian for the period July 1, 1927, to June 30, 1928. The librarian, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, makes a general survey of the work done in the library and in its behalf, including the effort to make the library building fireproof, notes the publications of the library (already mentioned in previous issues of this journal), and points out the most notable accessions. Among those of general interest may be mentioned the letter-book of the office of exchange of prisoners, War Department, Confederate States of America, many of the letters in which had not been printed. Especially noteworthy have been the accessions by means of photostats, including numerous parish registers, etc., running back into the seventeenth century, and including also records of Baptists, Friends, and Presbyterians. Many old county records have been acquired in a similar way.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has in the October number an article by Louis K. Koontz of the University of California entitled Washington on the Frontier, emphasizing Washington's recognition of the importance of securing and safeguarding the region between the Potomac and the Lakes for the future development of the English in America. An article on Robert Beverley, the Historian of Virginia, is presumably by Mr. Fairfax Harrison. The other principal contents are continuations hitherto mentioned.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints as the principal content of the October number a body of notes, prepared by Mr. E. G. Swem, librarian, on the four forms of the oldest building of

William and Mary College. The notes are accompanied by a number of drawings and illustrations. Through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., the main building of the college, the foundation of which was laid in August, 1695, is to be rebuilt, and the design of the notes is primarily to afford architectural information concerning that building and the three which have succeeded it.

In the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Dr. Lyon G. Tyler has an article entitled *Tyler versus Lincoln*, which, in a compressed form, appeared in the periodical *Time*, June 4, 1928. *Fact and Fiction in Virginia History* is an article from the pen of Dr. John W. Wayland and points out errors, some amusing, some shocking, committed by writers of repute as well as by those of no repute.

The Story of Virginia's First Century, by Mary M. P. Stanard, is from the press of Lippincott.

In the October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Miss Grace King, writing concerning the Preservation of Louisiana History, emphasizes in particular the work in behalf of Louisiana history done by Martin, Gayarré, William Preston Johnston, and Henry P. Dart, with some account of the Louisiana Historical Society and the State Museum. In the same issue G. G. Johnson describes life in the Ante-Bellum Town in North Carolina, and Marguerite B. Hamer writes of Thomas Hughes and his American Rugby. Under the title *Twelve North Carolina Counties, 1810-1811*, is the first instalment of a group of sketches by various hands of certain counties scattered over the state, which, at the instance of the *Raleigh Star*, were prepared for publication at the time, but have lain nevertheless in manuscript until the present time. Mr. A. R. Newsome writes an introduction for the sketches. Among the Historical Notes are an article entitled *Vices of Virginia and Maryland becoming Prevalent in North Carolina*, reprinted from the *North Carolina Journal* of May 2, 1796, and a letter from Mrs. Martha Ellen Miller, written from Kinston, December 18, 1862, to her brother John Jameson of Boston. The letter, which is of especial interest for its description of the battle of Kinston, was originally printed in a Boston newspaper.

The *Twelfth Biennial Report* (Dec. 1, 1926, to June 30, 1928) of the North Carolina Historical Commission (*Publications of the Commission*, Bulletin no. 34) is largely occupied with an account of accessions. These include some personal papers of value, some papers of the Civil War and Reconstruction (for instance, some 2000 photostatic copies of applications for pardon, 1865), a large collection of papers of John D. Whitford, relating to the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, 1854-1889, sundry newspapers, maps (photostatic copies), transcripts of English and Spanish records, etc. Particularly noteworthy is the continued flow of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century county records into the custody of the commission, as also the transfer of large bodies of legislative papers. The commission reports as in press the *North Carolina*

Manual, 1929, compiled and edited by A. R. Newsome; *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, with introduction and notes by William K. Boyd; and the *Diary of Randolph G. Shotwell*, vol. I., edited by J. G. DeR. Hamilton. In preparation are the second volume of the *Shotwell Diary*, the fourth volume of Miss Adelaide L. Fries's *Records of the Moravians*, and a documentary collection on public education in North Carolina since 1840, by M. C. S. Noble.

The *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, vol. XX., no. 2, contains the James A. Graham Papers, 1861-1884 (pp. 324), edited by H. M. Wagstaff, Ph.D. These papers consist of two distinct groups: first, letters from James A. Graham to his parents, written from camp, 1861-1865, with a few letters from his father, William A. Graham, and a few others from and to James A. Graham of a later date; and, secondly, a "Descriptive Book of the Orange Guards" (Company G, 27th Regiment of North Carolina Infantry), of which James A. Graham was the author. The latter is of particular value, as it is the fullest existing record of any military unit of North Carolina. The letters, covering as they do the whole period of the war, are an unusually valuable as well as interesting body of war correspondence.

The contents of the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are all continuations, namely: Mr. Henry A. M. Smith's studies of the Goose Creek settlements; the Laurens and the Garth correspondence, both edited by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell; Inscriptions from the Circular Congregational Churchyard in Charleston, contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber; and Marriage and Death Notices from the Charleston *Courier*, 1806, contributed by Jeannie H. Register.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Edward Langworthy in the Continental Congress, by Edmund C. Burnett, one on the Steamboat Period in Georgia, by John H. Goff, and part II. of the Reminiscences of Charles Seton Henry Hardee, edited by Martha G. Waring.

The April number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* contains an account, by John S. Kendall, of George Wilkins Kendall and the Founding of the New Orleans *Picayune*, a Boy's Recollections of the War between the States, by W. O. Hart, and several documentary publications. Among the latter are some declarations pertaining to the wreck of *La Superbe* in the Gulf of Mexico in May, 1745, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; O'Reilly's Ordinance of 1770 concerning Grants of Land, etc. (reprint of translation by Gustavus Schmidt, in *Louisiana Law Journal*, August, 1841); Petition of the Widow Chenal, 1773 (pertaining to the killing of cattle strayed from the petitioner's dairy farm), translated by Laura L. Porteous; some documents pertaining to public education in New Orleans in 1800, translated by Laura L. Porteous, with an introduction by Mr. Dart; and further

instalments of the documents concerning Bienville's lands, of the Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, and of the index to the Spanish Judicial Records.

WESTERN STATES

In the September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* George R. Poage reviews the College Career of William Jennings Bryan, James B. Hedges writes concerning the Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads, Thomas P. Martin has a study of the Upper Mississippi Valley in Anglo-American Anti-Slavery and Free Trade Relations, 1837-1842, and Beverley W. Bond, jr., using the title an American Experiment in Colonial Government, examines certain aspects of the Ordinance of 1787 and the beginnings of government under it. To the section of Documents Arthur P. Whitaker contributes two letters, with an extended introduction to them, relating to Harry Innes and the Spanish Intrigue, 1794-1795. One letter is from Innes to Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, February 14, 1794, the other from Carondelet to James Wilkinson, July 16, 1795. An account of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in April is given by Arthur H. Hirsch. In the December number Dr. Solon J. Buck has a warmly appreciative sketch of Clarence Walworth Alvord, Historian. Other articles are: Saint Tammany in Ohio: a Study in Frontier Politics, by William T. Utter; a Revaluation of the Period before the Civil War: Railroads, by R. R. Russel; the Sub-Treasury: a Forgotten Plan for the Relief of Agriculture, by John D. Hicks; and Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency of the Upper Platte and Arkansas, by LeRoy R. Hafen. There is also a note by William Allen Pusey on the Location of Martin's Station, Virginia.

Mr. John A. Coffin has in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* the first part of an enlightening study of the Senatorial Career of Albert J. Beveridge, with a sketch of his life prior to his election to the Senate; and Mrs. Fanny Frazee Hamilton writes an interesting sketch of her father, Ephraim Samuel Frazee (1824-1896), minister and man of affairs. In the section of Documents is a group of letters, "written by Democrats who were loyal to Stephen A. Douglas in the period of his contest with President Buchanan", addressed to John G. Davis, sometime member of Congress from Indiana. It is submitted, with all due respect and becoming humility, that this number of the *Magazine*, particularly the Beveridge article, carries more than its permissible quota of typographical errors.

Recollections of the Civil War, by Colonel Oran Perry, has been published as vol. V., extra no. 3, of the *Indiana History Bulletin* (July, 1928). The September number of the *Bulletin* contains a reprint (from *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 133-135) of James Wilkinson's report of the battle of Olde Towne, near Logansport (1791). The October number has an account of the midyear tour and meeting of the Indiana Historical Society.

The *Indiana University Studies*, vol. XV., no. 79 (June, 1928), is a monographic study (pp. 138) of the *Geography of American Notables*, by Stephen Sargent Visher, Ph.D., of Indiana University, and is described on the title-page as "a statistical study of birthplaces, training, distribution: an effort to evaluate various environmental factors". Two groups of individuals constitute the principal basis of this study, those included in *American Men of Science* and *Who's Who in America*. In the forefront of the author's mind are two questions: "Where do our leaders come from?" and "What conditions are conducive to their development?" and he offers this geographical study as a help toward answering those questions. States are compared as birthplaces of the people studied, and also in respect of various conditions "sometimes considered as having an important bearing on the production of notables"; the relative sizes of the birthplaces of eminent people, their education and distribution, the occupations of their fathers—these are some of the phases studied. Some particular studies are devoted to the notables of Indiana. The author's conclusions, which can not even be summarized here, are set down as "tentative".

The Indiana Library and Historical Department has published a *Bibliography of the Laws of Indiana, 1788-1927, beginning with the Northwest Territory* (Indianapolis, 1928).

The Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. VIII., no. 6, is a monograph by Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan on *The Northern Boundary of Indiana*. No. 7 of the same volume is a study, by Daniel W. Snepp, of *Evansville's Channels of Trade and the Secession Movement, 1850-1865*. Prior to the Civil War Evansville had built up a thriving trade with the South, mainly river traffic, trade connections which were severed by the outbreak of the war, although later restored by the victories of the Union armies. Meanwhile there were efforts to build up trade connections to the north and east by means of the Wabash and Erie canal (utterly disappointing in its results) and railroads. On the political side the author takes pains to point out that, while Evansville, as other parts of southern Indiana, had many Southern sympathizers, the region was upon the whole loyal to the state and to the Union.

Among the articles in the July number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society are: the *Journal of a Pioneer Missionary*, the Rev. Lemuel Foster, edited by Matthew Spinka, Ph.D.; *President Lincoln's War Problem*, by Brig.-Gen. John M. Palmer (reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1927); some remarks by Earl W. Wiley on the *Discovery of Record of Lincoln's Chicago Speech of October 27, 1854*, together with the newspaper report of the speech; an undelivered Fourth of July Oration of James R. Doolittle (prepared for delivery at the World's Fair, Chicago, July 4, 1893), contributed by Duane Mowry; accounts, by Paul B. Corr, of Northwest Territory celebrations; and other articles of local interest.

A particularly noteworthy article in the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* is New Light on Old Cahokia, by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. The Death of Father Jacques Marquette is a translation, by Leonard J. Fencil, S.J., of St. Louis University, of the account, in Latin by an unknown hand, of Father Marquette's death, first published by Rochemonteix in the third volume of his *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e Siècle*.

A Centennial History of Illinois College, by President Charles A. Rammelkamp, has been published by the Yale University Press.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society has in the September number an article by Rexford Newcomb on Gideon Shryock, Pioneer Greek Revivalist of the Middle West. Shryock was the designer of the capitol building at Frankfort and many other notable examples of Greek architecture. This number of the *Register* contains the concluding instalment of the McAfee Papers; Montgomery County tax lists, marriage and death records; an article on the Blue Licks Monument and its dedication (August 19, 1928); etc.

Among the contents of the October number of *The History Quarterly* are: an article by L. J. Kinkead, entitled How the Parents of George Rogers Clark came to Kentucky in 1784-1785; some genealogical notes, by George M. Alves, concerning the Alves family, descendants of that James Hogg (the name of his sons was changed to Alves) who was an associate of Richard Henderson; some accounts of the recent celebrations of Blue Licks and Harrodsburg anniversaries; and a letter from George Washington to Charles Morgan of Kentucky, January 17, 1795, concerning Washington's Kentucky land holdings. The printed text of the Washington letter has "Washington City" for Washington C[oun]ty.

Dr. Samuel C. Williams, author of *The Lost State of Franklin* and editor of the reprint of the *Memoirs of Henry Timberlake*, has now edited a volume of the *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800*, which the Watauga Press of Johnson City, Tenn., has published.

In the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for January, 1926 ("issued October, 1928"), Judge Robert Ewing, continuing his studies of General Robert E. Lee, discourses upon General Lee's Inspiration to the Industrial Rehabilitation of the South, exemplified in the Development of Southern Iron Interests. Under the title James Buchanan, the Court, and the Dred Scott Case, Dr. Philip Auchampaugh discusses in particular Buchanan's desire that the decision in the case antedate his inaugural, and introduces some correspondence on the subject between Buchanan and two of the judges. An article of particular local interest is William Cobb, Host of Governor William Blount, by Rev. P. L. Cobb.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published a valuable study by Sister Mary Rosalita on *Education in Detroit Prior to 1850* (Lansing, 1928, pp. 364), in which she discusses the origin of the early schools,

parochial, private, semi-public, and public. Her researches during several years have unearthed a mass of facts which she has woven together skillfully. There are numerous illustrations, including a reproduction of the Act of 1817 establishing a catholepistemiad, composed of thirteen didaxiim or professorships, of which the didaxia of catholepistemia, universal science, was to be president.

The *Michigan History Magazine*, "Autumn Number", contains the first instalment of a study by William A. Spill, entitled *University of Michigan: Beginnings*; an article by William L. Jenks on the Earl of Selkirk in Michigan Courts; one by John G. Van Deusen on the Court Martial of General William Hull; and one by Fred Dustin on Some Indian Place-Names around Saginaw.

The Detroit Historical Society has undertaken the organization of a museum of material illustrative of the history of Detroit and its vicinity, supplementing the work of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. Contributions are invited.

The item in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for September is a biography of Robert Rogers (1731-1793), by M. M. Quaife. That in the issue for November is an account by Mr. Quaife of "The Iron Ship", a small side-wheel steamer now riding in the harbor of Erie, which was constructed in pursuance of the fortification act of 1841, built in sections at Pittsburgh in 1842-1844, transported overland to Erie, assembled and launched in 1844. This was the *Michigan*, and "to the obsolete hulk of the ancient 'Iron Ship' clings a wealth of historic associations".

In the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Thomas P. Christensen has an article on *Danish Settlement in Wisconsin*, Mrs. W. F. Pett writes concerning a Forgotten Village (La Pointe), and the editor, Dr. Schafer, tells the story of his Trailing a Trail Artist of 1849. The quest, which began with the discovery of a group of drawings sketched in 1849 on the California trail between Fort Leavenworth and Soda Springs, was in pursuit of the identity of the artist.

The September number of *Minnesota History* contains an address by William Anderson, entitled *Local Government and Local History*; a paper by John D. Hicks on the *Birth of the Populist Party* (an event, let it be said, accompanied by the clamor of the nurses and the wrangling of the midwives); a survey, by Mary E. Wheelhouse, of the *Unpublished Sources for the History of Central Minnesota*; an account of the *State Historical Convention at Brainerd* (June 13-14); and an account of a journey by steamboat up the Mississippi from La Crosse to St. Paul, from a letter of George T. Borrett, an English traveller, written in September, 1864. The latter is reprinted from *Letters from Canada and the United States* (London, 1865).

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently acquired several large lots of transcripts and photostats of material relating to the early history

of the state and the Northwest. These include selections from the American Fur Company papers through 1842 and from the papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions through 1844. Other notable accessions include transcripts of diaries, 1854-1862, of Mitchell Y. Jackson, a pioneer farmer in the state, papers of Harvey H. Johnson, pioneer railroad promoter of southern Minnesota, and papers of Robert P. Lewis, St. Paul real estate dealer and pension agent. The society has just published the first volume of a two-volume work entitled *Minnesota in the War with Germany*, by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel; it is expected that the second volume will appear in 1929.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an article by Charles Roll on Political Trends in Iowa History, and the first instalment of a paper by John M. Pfiffner on the City Manager Plan in Iowa.

To the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* David C. Mott contributes, with suitable introduction, portions of Audubon's diary of his journey up the Missouri River in 1843, to which is given the title John J. Audubon and his Visit to Iowa; J. L. E. Peck, a sketch of George Worth Schee (1847-1926), noted for his efforts to place flags on school houses in Iowa; and C. C. Stiles, a further analysis of Iowa Public Archives.

In the September number of the *Palimpsest* is found an account of the visit of a party of Indians to Boston in 1837, with the speech of Governor Everett, who received them, and the responses of the principal chiefs and warriors. In the October number an article by J. A. Swisher, entitled a Convention Stampeded, gives some account of the Republican state convention at Des Moines in 1875. In the November number Pauline Graham tells the story of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, followed by Owen Brown's account of the escape of himself and companions, and Thomas Teakle recounts the foiling of efforts at rendition in the case of Barclay Coppoc.

A conference on the history of the Trans-Mississippi West will be held at the University of Colorado, June 18 to 21. In the mornings there will be various round-table discussions; in the evenings groups of formal papers will be presented. The attendance of a number of the leading scholars in the field has already been assured. A fuller announcement of this important gathering will be given in the April number.

The October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a Diary of a Journey from Missouri to California in 1849, kept by Bennett C. Clark, one of a party of twenty-four young men who journeyed to the land of gold in search of sudden wealth. Actually the diary comes to an end when the party had reached the western boundary of the present Nevada. It is edited by Ralph P. Bieber. In an article entitled When a Missourian Forced a Special Session of Congress Walter B. Stevens

recounts an incident related by David R. Francis, culminating in the refusal of President Cleveland, at the very moment when President-elect McKinley entered the White House, to sign the sundry civil appropriation bill. The Development of Missouri's State Administrative Organization is described by Isidor Loeb. There are two groups of letters in this number of the *Review*, one of them being some letters of Joseph Shriver, a young civil engineer engaged in surveying the National Road from Indianapolis to Jefferson City (1828-1829), the other a group of war-time letters (1861-1864), written by Mrs. Margaret J. Hays, wife of Col. Upton Hays, to her mother. Among the Historical Notes is a letter from Thomas H. Benton, May 1, 1840, addressed to a committee in Indianapolis.

The Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, October issue, has an article on Flanders Callaway, a Frontier Type, by Charles W. Bryan, jr.; some Advertisements in the *Missouri Gazette*, 1808-1811, selected by Isaac H. Lionberger; "A Walk in the Streets of St. Louis in 1845", taken from the *St. Louis Business Directory* for 1847; and the Diary of James Kennerly, 1823-1826, edited, with an introduction, by Edgar B. Wesley. Kennerly, who was a substantial citizen of St. Louis, went to Fort Atkinson in 1823 as a sutler, and his diary pertains chiefly to that business. Following the diary is a genealogy of the Kennerlys of Virginia, compiled by Stella M. Drumm.

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis expected to publish before Christmas a *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, in two volumes. This includes the various stages of development in the work of the church in the Upper Mississippi Valley from 1673 to date.

The University of California Press has brought out as vol. XXIII., no. 9 of its Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, *Native Culture of the Southwest*, by A. L. Kroeber.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has in the October number an article by W. C. Holden on West Texas Drouths, and the Journal of Ammon Underwood, 1834-1838, edited by James K. Greer. The journal recounts the departure of Underwood, a young man, from his home in Massachusetts, his voyage from Boston to New Orleans, thence to Brazoria, his experiences for a time in the mercantile business, then the war and his service in the Texan army, and later his return to business.

There has appeared, as one of the *Frankfurter Geographische Hefte*, a monograph by Max Hannemann on *Die Seehäfen von Texas, ihre Geographischen Grundlagen, ihre Entwicklung, und Bedeutung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1928, pp. 270).

The issue of vols. V. and VI. of the *Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, president of the republic of Texas, 1838-1841, edited by Miss Harriet Smither, completes the publications of these papers (Austin, Texas State Library).

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has in the July number an article by Allen L. Truax on Manuel Lisa and his North Dakota Trading Post, and the Journal of William H. Clandening, recording a journey across the plains in 1863-1865.

Among the contents of the September number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: the Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians as told to and by John H. Seger, with a curious preface and a less curious foot-note; a list of the Early Post Offices of Oklahoma, contributed by Grant Foreman; an article by A. H. Murchison, entitled Intermarried Whites in the Cherokee Nation between the Years 1865 and 1887, consisting principally of transcripts of laws on the subject (several of them prior to the removal to the present Oklahoma) and reports of such marriages made by the clerks of the district courts in 1887; a series of reports of agents, missionaries, and trustees of schools (principally 1843), pertaining to the first schools in the Choctaw Nation, drawn by J. Y. Bryce from the *President's Message* (1845); and some letters of the two Boudinots, contributed with an introduction, by Edward Everett Dale. From Elias Boudinot are two letters, written to his brother from Boston and Washington in 1832 and 1835, respectively. From Elias Cornelius Boudinot, his son, sometime in the Confederate military service, then a delegate to the Confederate Congress, and after the war a member of a Cherokee delegation in Washington, are ten letters, with a single exception written to his uncle Stand Watie, a Confederate colonel.

Among the articles in the August number of the *Colorado Magazine* are: Early Years of the Telephone in Colorado, by Howard T. Vaille; the Last Years of James P. Beckwourth (in continuation of the biography by T. D. Bonner), by LeRoy R. Hafen; Early History of Costilla County, by Edmond C. van Diest; and Experiences on the Platte River Route in the 'Sixties, by Frank M. Case. The October number includes: a Sketch of Delta County History, by Olivia S. Ferguson; the Old South Park Railroad, by Albert B. Sanford; the Cattle Roundup, by Eugene Williams; and the Death and the Last Will of Kit Carson, by Albert W. Thompson.

The New Mexico Historical Society has come into possession of the only known copy of the *Apologia* of Presbyter Antonio J. Martínez, supposed to be the first book printed in New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1838), and the *New Mexico Historical Review* prints in the October number an English translation of the booklet, by Cecil V. Romero. In the same number Lansing B. Bloom presents, under the title a Glimpse of New Mexico in 1620, the original and translation of a document pertaining to the government of New Mexico, found in the Archivo General de Indias. Another document printed in original and in translation (by F. M. Gallaher) is Parte Oficial de la Accion de Armas Temascalitos, dated December 25, 26, 1846. Of Confederate attempts to set up a civil government in New Mexico but little is known, but on the basis of some recently discovered

records in the county court house at Las Cruces Edward D. Tittmann is enabled to give some account of Confederate Courts in New Mexico. From some other documents in the same repository Mr. Tittmann tells the story of Richard Campbell, probate judge and actual lawgiver in Doña Ana County in the period just prior to the Civil War. John P. Clum tells the story of Ez-kim-in-zin, Apache chief.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* prints in the October number, from the manuscript in the Public Archives of Canada, the "Journal of the Rocky Mountain Fort, Fall 1799", the diary of an unknown trader, extending from October, 1799, to April, 1800. The Journal is edited by Marion O'Neil, who furnishes a suitable introduction. The same number has an article by William S. Lewis on the Camel Pack Trains in the Mining Camps of the West, while James W. Watt's Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps during the 'Sixties are continued. In the section of Documents is a list of vessels trading on the northwest coast of America, 1804-1814, contributed by George Verne Blue.

An article in the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, entitled "Historical Review, Champoege, the Plymouth Rock of the Northwest", by Peter H. D'Arcy, appears, according to a foot-note by the editor of the *Quarterly*, to have been prepared for use by a Senate committee which had under consideration a joint resolution authorizing the erection at Champoege of a memorial to commemorate the winning of the Oregon Country. This may explain why the author appears not to have been concerned for the strict accuracy of all his statements or disturbed by the doubts and queries that have gathered about the whole Champoege affair. This issue of the *Quarterly* contains also an article by Leslie M. Scott on the Oregonian Newspaper in Oregon History (the article is concerned chiefly with the newspaper bearing the name *The Oregonian*); the address of John W. Biggs at the dedication (July 22, 1928) of the John Devine monument on the Joaquin Miller trail, with introductory remarks by Lewis A. McArthur; some letters (1849-1861) of Roselle Putnam, daughter of Jesse Applegate, with notes by Sheba Hargreaves; a reprint of a section of Capt. James Cook's Journal, recording his approach to Oregon (February and March, 1778), with notes by T. C. Elliott; a similar reprint of the record made by John Meares ten years later, for which Mr. Elliott also furnishes an introduction and notes; and the second instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne* by Henry Bridgman Brewer, with notes by John M. Canse.

CANADA

In the *Canadian Historical Review*, September, John S. Ewart replies to the paper by A. B. Keith in the June number on Recent Changes in Canada's Constitutional Status; Nellis M. Crouse describes the location of Fort Maurepas; and George W. Brown, the St. Lawrence in the Boundary

Settlement of 1783 (read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester, December, 1926). For the section of "Notes and Documents" Louis D. Scisco contributes the last of a series of important documents dealing with the early settlement of Newfoundland.

The first volume of the fifth edition of the well-known *Histoire du Canada*, by F.-X. Garneau, was reviewed by C. W. Colby in these columns in 1914 (vol. XIX., 382-384). Now appears the seventh edition, vol. I. (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. lviii, 609). The first three editions were published during the life of the author, the fourth by his son, and the last three by his grandson. It is a monumental work of which any family might well be proud.

A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada, by A. G. Dorland (Toronto, Macmillan, 1928), is said to be a very accurate and satisfactory account.

Ralph Flenley has translated a *History of Montreal, 1640-1672*, by Dollier de Casson. The author was a priest who had formerly been captain of cavalry under Turenne and went to Canada in 1666. The French original and translation are printed side by side (London, Dent, 1928).

The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada, by Harold A. Logan, is published by the University of Chicago Press.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

A group of specialists has undertaken the preparation of a series of bibliographical guides to cover every phase of Hispanic-American civilization and culture. As yet no attempt has been made to estimate the number of volumes, as the work will probably not be completed for ten or fifteen years. It is planned to append, for each title, critical notes in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The managing editor is Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, who desires to secure coöperation from all who are competent, either in this country or abroad. He may be addressed at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

The first volume of the "Collection des Textes relatifs aux Anciennes Civilisations du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale" entitled *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* (Relation de las Cosas de Yucatan), with Spanish text by Diego de Landa and French translation by Jean Genet, has been published (Paris, Genet, 1928). Vol. II., entitled, *Rapport contre les Idolâtres du Yucatan*, by Sanchez de Aguilar, has been announced for publication before the end of 1928. The other volumes which have been announced are: III., *Relation d'un Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, by Thomas Gage; IV., *Le Livre du Conseil*; V., *Description de la Ville de Mexico avant et depuis l'Arrivée des Conquérans Espagnols*, by Antonio de Leon y Gama.

The Mexican government has published an index of important state papers relating to Mexico to be found in the Archivo de Indias of Seville,

Indice de Documentos de Nueva España Existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, vol. I., 428 pages. This index was prepared by the eminent Mexican historian, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, and will be invaluable to the student of the colonial history of Mexico. The Mexican government is to be congratulated in having made available this publication which is to be followed by further volumes prepared by the same historian (Mexico City, 1928).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico has recently published three important volumes. *Las Relaciones entre Mexico y el Vaticano* (*Archivo Historico Diplomatico Mexicano*) is a compilation of documents with introduction and notes by Joaquin Ramirez Cabañas, indispensable to everyone interested in the present situation in Mexico, especially to those seeking documentary material on the conflict that has raged between church and state for so many years. The documents herein published bring the story down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter, formal negotiations between the Mexican government and the Vatican ceased, except during the brief period of the empire. The documents of the imperial period are not reprinted in this volume. The volume contains an excellent foreword by Dr. Cabañas, which includes an excellent commentary on the policy of the Mexican government during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The monograph, *La Insubstancia de una Convencion de Reclamaciones* (*Archivo Historico Diplomatico Mexicano*), with an introduction by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, contains a reprint of the documents relating to the Mexican-Spanish Claims Convention of 1853. The terms of this convention became the occasion of a long and bitter controversy between Spain and Mexico and finally led to the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The documents contained in this volume throw considerable light on the antecedents of the Spanish intervention in Mexico in 1853. *Don Juan Prim y su Labor Diplomatica en Mexico*, with an introduction by Genara Estrada, contains the speeches delivered by General Prim in the Spanish Senate, defending his policy as Commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Force to Mexico in 1862. An interesting preface by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Dr. Estrada, explains the policy of General Prim and the great service that he rendered to Mexico because of his opposition to the intervention policy which finally led to the establishment of the empire under Maximilian. This volume is a valuable contribution to a significant period in the history of Mexico (Mexico City, Publicaciones de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928).

The *Mexican Agrarian Revolution* by Frank Tannenbaum is to be published by Macmillan.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published *Matanzas en la Independencia de Cuba*, by Carlos M. Trelles. This important paper is accompanied by an elaborate appendix of documents and six pages of bibliography (Havana, 1928, pp. 193).

Dr. Juan M. Dihigo, professor of linguistics and philology in the University of Havana, and a member of the Academy of History of Cuba, has issued the first volume of Cuban localisms, *Léxico Cubano—Contribución al Estudio de las Voces que lo Forman* (Havana, 1928). In all the countries of Latin America, the Spanish language has been subjected to many changes, especially through the introduction of local terms and phrases. Few countries of the American continent have introduced more localisms into the language than Cuba. The fact that this large volume covers only the letter "A" indicates the extensive nature of the task which Dr. Dihigo has set for himself.

The title finally agreed upon for Dr. Ragatz's book, which has now been published through the Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association, is *The Fall of the Planter Class in the Caribbean, 1763-1833*. This volume has been brought out for the Association by the Century Company. It contains two parts: I., "The Old Plantation System"; II., "The Decline of the Sugar Islands"; a map of the West Indies and Central America; and 23 useful statistical charts (pp. xiv, 520).

The *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela, vol. XI., nos. 42 and 43, April to September, 1928, has begun the publication of the *Viaje a la Parte Oriental de Tierra Firme*, by Francisco Depons, containing many interesting details with regard to conditions about 1800.

The Institute of Ethnology of the University of Paris has published as the fifth volume of its *Travaux et Mémoires, l'Empire Socialiste des Inka*, by Louis Baudin of the University of Dijon.

Jean Genet, who has published works on Yucatan and on the Mayas, now offers an *Histoire des Peuples Civilisés du Guatemala; Quichés, Cakchiquels, Tzutuhils* (Paris, Genet, 1928, pp. 275) and an *Histoire des Peuples Shoshones-Aztèques* (*ibid.*).

An important work for the early history of Spanish-America is *Nueva Crónica de la Conquista del Tucumán*, by Robert Levillier, two volumes, of which volume I. is now published (Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra; London, Maggs).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Georg Friederici, *Die Vorkolumbischen Verbindungen der Südsee-Völker mit Amerika* (Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, XXXVI. 1); H. J. Spinden, *The Population of Ancient America* (Geographical Review, October); R. P. Reeder, *The Constitutionality of Protective Tariffs* (Constitutional Review, October); R. G. Trotter, *Imperial History in the United States* (Contemporary Review, September); G. W. Hinman, *The Colossus of the North* (North American Review, September); A. M. Schlesinger, *Social History in American Literature* (Yale Review, Autumn); L. Dupriez, *Le Contrôle Judiciaire de la Constitutionnalité des Lois aux États-Unis* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres,

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1928, 5); Clyde Egleton, *A Defense of the Non-Voter* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Jessie Bernard, *Political Leadership among North American Indians* (American Journal of Sociology, September); William C. Macleod, *Economic Aspects of Indigenous American Slavery* (American Anthropologist, October–December); J. L. Coontz, *Lighthouses of Colonial Times* (Daughters of American Revolution Magazine, November); Herbert B. Stimpson, *Charles Gordon: Jacobite and Loyalist* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Anon., *Early Artillery Organization* (Coast Artillery Journal, November); Ludovic de Contenson, *La Capitulation de Yorktown et le Comte de Grasse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique. XLII. 4); Barbé-Marbois, *Chez les Peaux-Rouges Onéidas* [1784]. I. (Nouvelle Revue, November 1); Benjamin F. Wright, jr., *The Philosopher of Jeffersonian Democracy* [John Taylor of Caroline] (American Political Science Review, November); Allan Westcott, *Commodore Jesse D. Elliott: a Stormy Petrel of the Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, September); Georges Danglade, *La Doctrine de Monroe* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Garrigó y Salido, *Génesis y Evolución de la Doctrina de Monroe* (Anales de la Academia de la Historia, Havana, 1925); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy [the Brooklyn]* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, September); George and Philip Welsh, *Civil War Letters* (Yale Review, Autumn); Lieut.-Col. W. W. Edwards, *The Invincible Raider* [Gen. N. B. Forrest] (Cavalry Journal, October); Brig.-Gen. E. S. Godfrey, *Some Reminiscences, including the Washita Battle, November 27, 1868* (*ibid.*); P. F. Fenton, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Venezuela, 1880–1915* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); W. G. Rice, *Grover Cleveland* (Century, October); M. W. Watkins, *The Sherman Act: its Design and its Effect* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); W. E. Dodd, *Our Ingrowing Habit of Lawlessness* (Century, October); John D. Black, *McNary-Haugen Movement* (Economic Review, September); Anon., *Coast Forts in Colonial Connecticut* (Coast Artillery Journal, September); Rear-Admiral W. D. Leahy, U. S. N., *Early History of the Washington Navy Yard* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, October); Benjamin Brawley, *The Southern Tradition* (North American Review, September); Philip G. Davidson, *Industrialism in the Ante-Bellum South* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); G. T. Starnes, *Sixty Years of Branch Banking in Virginia* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Frances Scarborough, *Old Spanish Missions in Texas, IV.: Nuestra Señora de la Purissima Concepción de Acuña* (Southwest Review, Autumn); Ralph H. Brown, *Monte Vista: Sixty Years of a Colorado Community* (Geographical Review, October); J. J. O'Gorman, *The Franciscans in New Mexico* (Ecclesiastical Review, August); Elizabeth H. West, *The Right of Asylum in New Mexico in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); Helen D. Fisher, *The First Smith of California* [Jedediah Smith] (American Mercury, November); Dr. Manuel Solano, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Anales de la Academia de la Historia de

Cuba, VIII., 1926); P. R. Fossum, *The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Controversy* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); Alejandro E. Bunge, *Seventy Years of Argentine Immigration* (Bulletin of the Pan American Union, October).

ANNOUNCEMENT

Just as the final page-proof is being read comes the announcement that the prize of \$2500, in addition to book royalties, offered by Little, Brown, and Company, has been awarded to Professor Ulrich B. Phillips for his book, to be published in May, *Life and Labor in the Old South*. The judges who awarded this prize were James Truslow Adams, Worthington C. Ford, and Allen Nevins.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. James H. Breasted, president of the American Historical Association, is director of the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago.

Dr. Thad W. Riker is a professor of modern European history in the University of Texas.

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Dr. J. Franklin Jameson occupies the chair of American history in the Library of Congress and is chief of the Division of Manuscripts.

Dr. Dexter Perkins, secretary of the American Historical Association, is a professor of American history in the University of Rochester.

Miss Elizabeth H. West is the librarian of the Texas Technological College at Lubbock.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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The Association—This association was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, in 1889 it was chartered by Congress. Its principal office is in Washington; its annual reports are published by the United States government through the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The membership of the Association, at present about 3400, is drawn from every state in the Union as well as from Canada and South America. To all who desire to promote the development of history, local, national, or general, and to all who believe that a correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present, the Association makes a strong appeal through its publications and other activities.

Meetings—The meetings of the Association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so chosen as to accommodate in turn the members living in different parts of the country; the average attendance is about four hundred. The meetings afford an opportunity for members to become personally acquainted and to discuss matters in which they have a common interest.

Publications—The principal publications of the Association are the *Annual Report* and the *American Historical Review*. The former, usually in two volumes, is printed for the Association by the government and is distributed free to all members who request it. It contains the proceedings of the Association, as well as valuable collections of documents, edited by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, reports on American archives, prepared by the Public Archives Commission, bibliographical contributions, reports on history teaching, on the activities of historical societies and other agencies, etc., and an annual group of papers on agricultural history contributed by the Agricultural History Society.

The *American Historical Review*, the official organ of the Association, is published quarterly, each number containing about 225 pages. It presents to the reader authoritative articles, critical reviews of important new works on history, groups of inedited documents, and news of many and varied activities in the field of history. The *Review* is indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of the progress of historical scholarship, and is of value and interest to the general reader. It is distributed to all members of the Association in part return for their dues. The Association has a close advisory relationship with the *Historical Outlook*, that valuable organ of those engaged in teaching history and the social studies.

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The Jean Jules Jusserand Medal, founded in honor of the lately Ambassador of the French Republic to the United States and a former president of the Association, is offered annually for the best work on intellectual relations between America and one or more European countries.

Relations with State and Local Historical Societies—The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through a conference organized under the auspices of the Association and holding a meeting each year in connection with the annual meeting of the Association. The proceedings of the conference are printed in the *Annual Report* of the Association.

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